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SELECTIONS FROM PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA MAGAZINES

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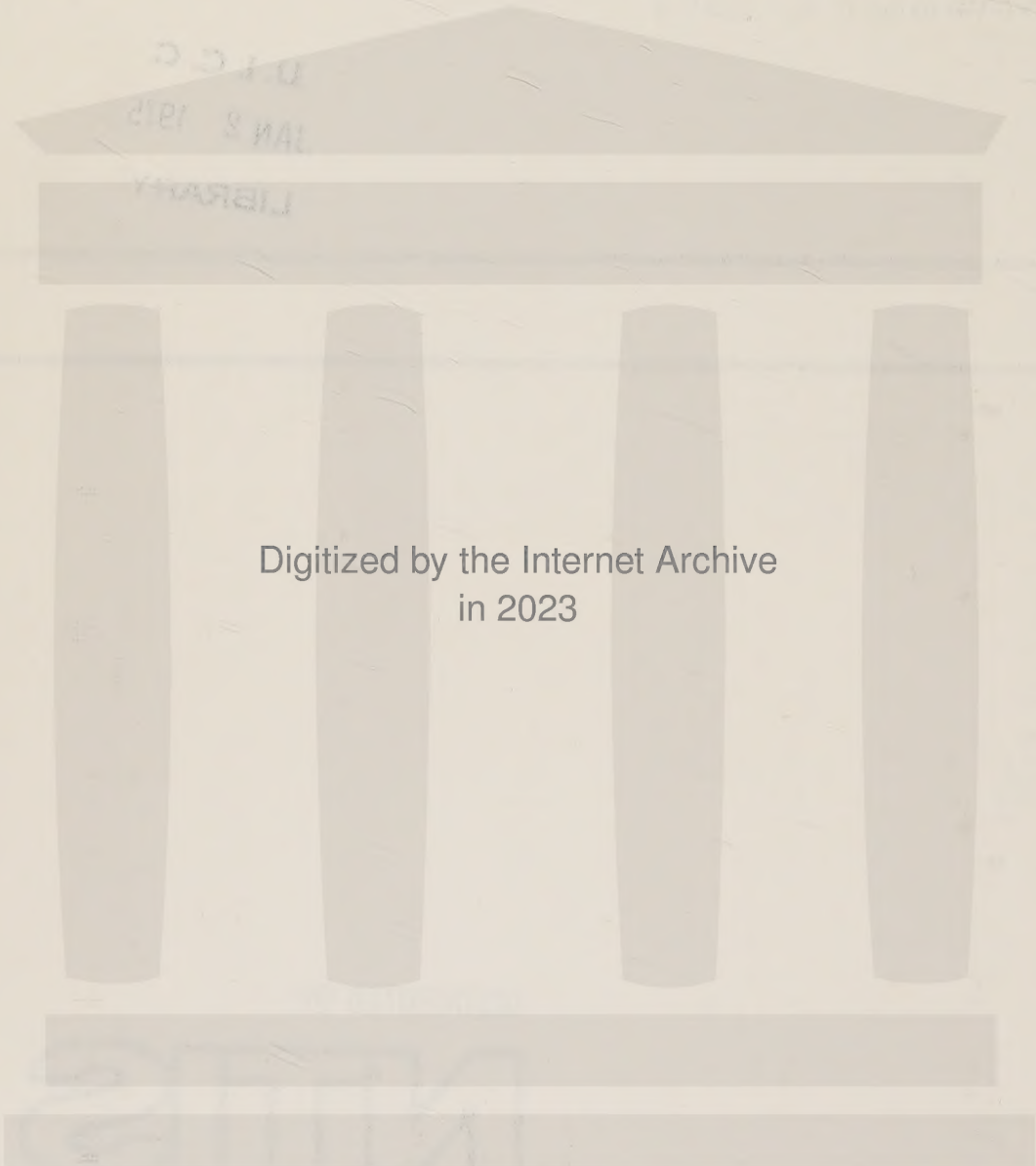

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Selections from People's Republic of China Magazines

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QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO

The Chinese people will see that, once China's destiny is in the hands of the people, China, like the sun rising in the east, will illuminate every corner of the land with a brilliant flame, swiftly clean up the mire left by the reactionary government, heal the wounds of war and build a new, powerful and prosperous people's republic worthy of the name.

To win countrywide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li.

Only socialism can save China.

In China the struggle to consolidate the socialist system, the struggle to decide whether socialism or capitalism will prevail, will still take a long historical period. But we should all realize that the new system of socialism will unquestionably be consolidated.

The line is the key link; once it is grasped everything falls into place.

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.

Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire.

The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities--these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause.

In seeking victory, we must insure that we unite with the broad masses of the Chinese people under the leadership of the proletariat to win victory.

We must practice the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient," in order to achieve the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades.

* * *

Forward Along the Great Road of Socialism

- Editorial by Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i and Chien-fang-chün Pao

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, Oct. 1, 1974)

Twenty-five years have elapsed since the founding of the great People's Republic of China. These have been years in which the people of all nationalities in our country have fought in unity under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, years in which our country has forged ahead along the road of socialism.

In celebrating this glorious festival, we extend our warm greetings to the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals fighting on all fronts of socialist revolution and socialist construction, to patriotic personages, compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao and patriotic overseas Chinese and to the people of all nationalities throughout the country. We express our heartfelt thanks to the people all over the world and to friends in various countries for their support to our country's revolutionary cause and just struggle.

On the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China 25 years ago, Chairman Mao solemnly proclaimed to the world: "The Chinese people comprising one quarter of humanity have now stood up!" This proclamation expressed the firm confidence with which, as masters of their own destiny, the proletariat and the people of all nationalities of China looked forward to the future of their motherland. Earthshaking changes have taken place in China in the past 25 years. Old China, poor and backward, has changed into socialist New China with the beginnings of prosperity. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, we have in the main completed the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production and have carried out successive socialist revolutions, each time more deeply, on the political and ideological fronts. We have won big victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution in which the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and of Lin Piao have been smashed, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has permeated people's thinking, socialist new things have bloomed everywhere, and the dictatorship of the proletariat has been further consolidated. As we persevere in the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, our socialist construction is briskly advancing and an independent and fairly complete system of industry and of national economy as a whole based on socialist agriculture is taking shape. Imperialist and social-imperialist encirclement, blockade, aggression and subversion have all ended in ignominious defeat.

Chairman Mao points out: "Only socialism can save China." The course we have traversed proves that the socialist system enjoys matchless superiority and immense vitality as compared with the capitalist system and that, to build up, consolidate and develop the socialist system, it is

imperative to unite the people of the whole country and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat over a long period of time.

To stick to the road of socialism or to restore capitalism--this is a struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the two lines, the Marxist and the revisionist. The four major inner-Party struggles between the two lines since the founding of the People's Republic of China all centered on the question of which road to take. The Party's basic line tells us that such struggles will continue for a long time to come. In the economic sphere, our basic victory in the transformation of the system of ownership has not ended the struggle between socialism and capitalism. In the political and ideological spheres, it will take a very long time to decide the issue in the struggle between socialism and capitalism. Chairman Mao points out: "Before a brand-new social system can be built on the site of the old, the site must be swept clean. Invariably, remnants of old ideas reflecting the old system remain in people's minds for a long time, and they do not easily give way." We must continue to criticize the old system and old ideas, struggle against sabotage by class enemies at home and abroad and make constant efforts to perfect the socialist system in the course of practice.

The aim of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius initiated and led by Chairman Mao is precisely to occupy all spheres of the superstructure with Marxism, to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to prevent the restoration of capitalism and thus to make certain that our socialist state will never change its political color. We must continue to broaden and deepen the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius for a long time. Organizations where mass investigations have been more or less completed should direct their main attention to study and criticism. We must read and study conscientiously and exert ourselves to digest works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, for this is the key to deepening the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. We must continue to criticize Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and, especially for the present, study Chairman Mao's military writings and criticize Lin Piao's bourgeois military line. By adhering to the principle of making the past serve the present and by applying the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method, we must criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and sum up the historical experience of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and of class struggle as a whole in order to serve the current class struggle and the struggle to oppose and prevent revisionism and to help consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Attention should also be paid to training Marxist theoretical workers and enlarging their ranks in the course of struggle. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we must further heighten our consciousness of the struggle between the two lines, push forward struggle-criticism-transformation on all fronts and further strengthen our adherence to the socialist orientation.

The socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat opens up broad avenues for developing production with greater, faster, better and more economical results. We must adhere to the principles--dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony and grasp

revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war, conscientiously sum up and spread the experience of the advanced units which have done well in revolution and production, and work hard to fulfill or overfulfill this year's national economic plan and the Fourth Five-Year Plan. We must rely wholeheartedly on the working class, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, give full play to the socialist enthusiasm of the people in their hundreds of millions which has been generated in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and accelerate socialist construction. The working class, poor and lower-middle peasants and laboring people of all nationalities of our country have high aspirations, they have ability, and they will undoubtedly build our great motherland into a modern socialist country. The People's Liberation Army should thoroughly implement Chairman Mao's military line, carry forward our army's glorious tradition and make new contributions in defending our great socialist motherland.

The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities--these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause. Class enemies at home and abroad always try to undermine such unification and unity by every possible means, and we must sharpen our vigilance. It is imperative to strengthen the Party's centralized leadership and the great revolutionary unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. We must learn to handle all problems from the dialectical approach of one dividing into two and earnestly carry out the proletarian policies laid down by Chairman Mao, strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and handle them correctly, unite over 95 percent of the cadres and masses, bring all positive factors into play, unite with everyone that can be united with, and do everything possible to turn negative factors into positive ones so as to serve the great cause of building a socialist society.

As we celebrate National Day, we express deep solicitude for our compatriots in Taiwan Province, who are our kith and kin. We are determined to liberate Taiwan!

The international situation characterized by great disorder under Heaven is developing in a direction favorable to the people of all countries. Beset with troubles internally and externally, the two hegemonic powers--the United States and Soviet Union--find the going tougher and tougher. The struggles of the Third World and the people of all countries are pushing the wheel of world history forward. In this excellent international situation, we should continue to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on foreign affairs, redouble our efforts to run China's affairs well and strive to make a greater contribution to mankind.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, let us further enhance the excellent situation prevailing in our country and unite to win still greater victories!

* * *

History Develops in a Spiraling Way

by

Hung Yü (洪宇)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, Oct. 1, 1974)

The great People's Republic of China has victoriously gone through the militant course of 25 years.

During these years, our Party has united people of all nationalities in our country, overcome all difficulties, defeated repeated attacks by class enemies at home and abroad, and won great victories in socialist revolution and construction under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Our Party, especially after going through four major struggles, has exposed and smashed the anti-Party conspiratorial activities of the opportunist chieftains such as Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, insuring that our country will advance along the socialist road. The past 8 years since the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution have further demonstrated the correctness of Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and his various policies and helped us understand better the law of class struggle in the period of socialist revolution. The socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country have time and again proved the following truth--revolution is always developing along the road of twists and turns; it advances by constantly overcoming all kinds of obstacles and resistance. The new things will invariably replace the old things and the revolutionary forces will surely defeat the reactionary forces. This is an objective reality independent of man's will.

Lenin made a clear and scientific summarization of the law of development of things: "Development is in the form of a spiral, not a direct line." ("Karl Marx") In his many important works, Chairman Mao has profoundly explained and developed Lenin's brilliant thinking, pointing out: "There are to be twists and turns in the development of a thing and the development of a thing is not a quiet and direct process. ("On Protracted War") Commenting on the law of development of class struggle, Chairman Mao has said: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again....till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law." "Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again....till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law." ("Cast Away Illusions, Prepare to Struggle") This teaching by Chairman Mao has not only pointed out the two diametrically different outcomes between the imperialists and reactionaries and the revolutionary people but also pointed out the fact that the struggle between the revolutionary forces and the counter-revolutionary forces is necessarily to go through a course of twists and turns. The making of trouble and the defeat of counter-revolution and the failure and victory of the revolutionary people are two sides interrelated which transform themselves into each other. In the course of revolutionary struggle, their alternate emergence is precisely the concrete demonstration of the law of development in a spiral.

Why is the development of a thing proceeding in a spiral? This is because everything has a contradiction between the new and the old within itself. The two sides unify and fight against each other, thus promoting the development of a thing. The course of development of a thing from a low to a high level is one in which new things constantly defeat old things and push the development forward. In order to defeat the old things and replace them, the new things will unavoidably meet with stubborn resistance from the old things. Only by going through repeated and acute struggles can the new things change from being minor to being major and rise to predominance, while the old things change from being major to being minor and gradually die out. Though the development of things generally follows a forward movement rising from lower to higher levels, it does not necessarily go straight upward. The actual development process cannot avoid sporadic curves and bends of varying degrees. "The course of revolution, like the course of movement of all things in the world, is crooked, not straight." ("On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism") This is because the growth of revolutionary forces and the dying of counter-revolutionary forces have their course to run. It is impossible for the former to rout or wipe out the latter overnight. Furthermore, man's learning of the objective laws and his leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom involves a process of building up experience. Only by repeatedly comparing his positive with his negative experiences can he reach a proper understanding of the course of revolution and then consciously apply it while carrying out his revolutionary assignments.

Spiraling means moving forward in circles, not running in circles. To borrow Chairman Mao's phrase: "With each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level." ("On Practice") Viewed superficially, each backsliding and each turning seems like a detour; in essence, each bend rounded and each curve negotiated means a new victory and a new step forward, whereby things enter a new level. The process of unifying the two opposites--progressiveness and deviousness--produces a complex, spiraling movement. The straight-line viewpoint negates the deviousness of development of things while the cyclical theory negates the progressiveness of development of things. Both deny the dialectical unity of progressiveness and deviousness, and cannot but lead to metaphysical errors.

The history of the social development of mankind for the past thousands of years was one of zigzagging and spiraling forward. All past revolutions, be it the one that sought to replace slavery with feudalism or the one that sought to substitute feudalism with capitalism, had this in common: Their struggle followed a course that wound back and forth, twisted and turned, sometimes lasting for decades, sometimes lasting even for centuries. Since the succession of systems of exploitation had to go through such a long process of development, the socialist revolution, aimed at defeating capitalism with socialism and ultimately eliminating all systems of exploitation and classes, cannot be plain sailing and, compared with all revolutions of the past, has to go through even more devious and prolonged struggle and exact greater efforts. Chairman Mao admonished us long ago: "New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow. It is sheer fantasy to imagine that the cause of socialism is all plain sailing and that successes can be gained easily without difficulties and setbacks or the exertion of effort." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." This point was made by Chairman Mao in

1957, and after 17 years of practice we have understood it more deeply than before. Since the proletariat came into power, all the overthrown reactionary classes, not reconciled with their defeat, have surfaced again and again to engage in sabotage and to make trouble in a bid to regain their lost "paradise" and have tried to recruit agents from within our Communist Party to work as their political representatives for their restorationist attempts. Apart from this, the vestige of the old ideology of the exploiting classes that held sway for the past several thousand years adds a burden to the socialist revolution in the superstructure. The question of who, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, will win in the political and ideological fields can only be settled in a long historical period. Furthermore, the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines at home have a way of joining up with those abroad. The class enemies are always colluding with imperialism and social imperialism and conspiring to stir up trouble at every opportunity. Therefore, the proletariat in power still faces the arduous task of having to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, unite the people of all nationalities, and persist in revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has a lot of work to do. Therefore, it must sum up its positive and negative experiences in the course of protracted struggle and constantly improve its understanding of the law of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Only by so doing can the proletariat overcome the difficulties and obstacles that stand in the way of progress and eventually defeat the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes to realize communism.

Over the past 25 years, our socialist cause has advanced on no other than a zigzagging course, amid the struggle between the two classes, two roads, and two lines. At the second plenary session of the 7th CCP Central Committee in 1949, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out the main contradictions at home and abroad during the period of socialist revolution, foresaw the protracted and complex nature of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and formulated a correct line, basic measures, and various guidelines and policies for the transition from the new democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. In the early years of the People's Republic of China, our Party led the people of the whole country to rehabilitate the national economy and carry out the "three-anti" and "five-anti" campaigns. It set forth the general line for socialist industrialization and for socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry and capitalist industry and commerce. It introduced the First Five-Year Plan for socialist construction. While the tremendous development in socialist revolution and socialist construction heartened the people of our country, it enraged and frightened class enemies at home and abroad. Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, bourgeois careerists who had wormed their way into our Party, formed an anti-Party alliance and conspired to split our Party, usurp the supreme power of the Party and State, and block the advance of socialism. Chairman Mao led the entire Party in good time to uncover and smash the Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance and restored unity in the Party and the nation. This was followed by an upsurge of socialist reform and basic victories in socialist transformation in the structure of the ownership of the means of production. However, the bourgeoisie would not accept their defeat. They took advantage of a rectification movement in 1957 to mount another frenzied assault on the Party. This fully showed that socialist

revolution on the economic front alone cannot insure a consolidated socialist system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It must be accompanied by thorough-going socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts as well. Guided by Chairman Mao's thesis on carrying on with the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the people throughout our country launched an earth-shaking counter-attack against the bourgeois Rightists, repelling still another frenzied, massive assault of the bourgeoisie. This gave a strong impetus to the rapid development in socialist revolution and socialist construction in China. Chairman Mao summed up the positive and negative experiences in socialist construction at home and abroad and laid down the general line of "going all out, aiming high, and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism." This set the stage for the excellent situation of the 1958 great leap forward and the establishment of people's communes. Still, the struggle in the political and ideological fields did not subside. At the 1959 Lushan Meeting, the P'eng Te-huai anti-Party clique jumped out and wildly attacked the general line, the great leap forward, and the people's commune in a vain attempt to split our Party and to stem the flowing tide of socialism. Chairman Mao led the whole Party to strike back, smashing the P'eng Te-huai Right opportunist clique and thwarting their conspiracy. The deepening of the socialist revolution sharpened the rabid counter-revolutionary activities of the Liu Shao-ch'i renegade clique. During the period of temporary economic difficulties caused by 3 years of natural calamities and sabotage of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, they openly trumpeted and pushed the revisionist line of San-tzu I-pao and "3-reconciliation and 1-reduction." They launched all-out efforts in carrying out criminal activities for capitalist restoration politically, ideologically and economically. At the 10th plenary session of the 8th CCP Central Committee in September 1962, Chairman Mao summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat at home and abroad and more comprehensively put forward the basic line of our Party for the entire historical period of socialism. He issued the great call "never forget class struggle." After that, Chairman Mao launched a countrywide movement for socialist education and criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois reactionary line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence. He launched a revolution in the field of literature and art including the revolution of Peking opera, initiated the criticism of "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office," and raised the curtain of the great proletarian cultural revolution. The repeated and zigzag struggles in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution were even more breathtaking. Under Chairman Mao's leadership, the Party and the people of the entire country broke through all kinds of obstacles, underwent arduous struggles, and finally smashed the bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-ch'i. However, the struggle did not come to an end. Lin Piao, the bourgeois careerist and conspirator who had "for a time lodged" within the Party, jumped out to carry on where Liu Shao-ch'i had left off. He negated the great proletarian cultural revolution, attacked the new socialist things, schemed for an armed counter-revolutionary coup d'etat to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, and vainly attempted to turn the socialist new China back into the old semi-feudal and semi-colonial China. Chairman Mao perceived everything and led the whole Party to expose the Lin Piao anti-Party clique in time and smash their counter-revolutionary scheme of "restraining oneself and restoring propriety." The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, which is being developed in depth, is precisely aimed at criticizing thoroughly

the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and its revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius--the ideology of the reactionary and declining classes--preached by Lin Piao. It is aimed at consolidating and developing the great achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution and further strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. Historical experience has proved that each victory in the cause of socialism is gained through repeated struggles. Therefore, the future socialist revolution will, like the past, develop in a spiraling way amid class struggle and the struggle between the two lines.

In order to observe and analyze the situation of revolutionary struggle from the viewpoint of spiraling development, it is necessary to get rid of the metaphysical viewpoint of the straight-line type. Lenin pointed out: "Man's knowledge is not a straight line (that is, it does not move along a straight line), but infinitely resembles a string of circles, resembling a spiraling curve." ("On the Problems of Dialectics.") On the question of class struggle, viewing a problem from a straight line means "all struggle, no alliance" or "all alliance, no struggle." According to Chairman Mao's instructions and the historical experience of our Party, the 10th CCP National Congress once again reminded us to resist and guard against these two kinds of one-sidedness. If we do not understand that in the course of a struggle there are ups and downs as well as tension and relaxation and that in the course of an alliance there are struggles against such reactionary things, splittist trends and erroneous ideas, we are ignorant of the law of development of things in a spiraling way. In the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The current policy of the anti-Japanese national united front is not all alliance, no struggle nor all struggle, no alliance. Rather it is a policy of combining these two aspects." ("On Policy") In order to lead any major class struggle and struggle between the two lines to victory, it is necessary to master this Marxist policy. The formula "unity-criticism-unity" is in accord with the law of the development of things in a spiraling way and an important method for correctly solving contradictions among the people. Contradictions among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy are totally different in nature. Knowledge among persons of different kinds within the ranks of the people is invariably different. Through criticism or struggle, we can distinguish the right from the wrong in line and unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Only unity can insure the implementation of the correct line and the eradication of the wrong one. If we negate the existence of contradictions among the people and only talk about unity but not struggle, we would of course undermine the cause of revolution. If we confound the two types of contradictions and only talk about struggle but not unity, if we do not understand the dialectical relations between struggle and unity and fail to see the vital importance of revolutionary unity, we would likewise endanger the cause of revolution. These two tendencies, being indications of ways of viewing problems in a straight-line way, run counter to the law of development of things in a spiraling way. In the history of our Party, these two tendencies have occurred and caused losses to the Party. This deserves our attention. We must pay constant attention to the historical experience of one tendency covering up another.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chairman Mao profoundly elucidated dialectics with the very simple examples of eating and sleeping in countering the erroneous thinking that failed to see the dialectical relationship between heroic fighting and temporary abandoning of territory for the sake of wiping out the enemy. He said: "To eat and then to empty your bowels--is this not to eat in vain? To sleep and then to get up--is this not to sleep in vain? Can questions be posed in such a way? I would suppose not." ("On Protracted War") Looking at a problem in a straight-line way is actually the metaphysical way of thinking "to eat and then not to empty your bowels" and "to sleep and then not to get up." Anyone who observes a problem with this kind of thinking will surely not be able to distinguish the essence from the appearance, the main current from the side currents, and the part from the whole. Thus, when the revolution is developing smoothly, he would become blindly optimistic and lose his vigilance; when the revolution runs into difficulties and twists and turns appear, he will throw up his arms and despair. Only by looking at problems from the dialectical viewpoint of development in a spiraling way can we see not only the certainty of twists and turns in the course of the development of revolution but also the certainty of victory from the development of twists and turns. Only thus can we clearly understand our orientation in the acute and complicated struggle, master the initiative in struggle and, guided by existing circumstances, win our victories.

Twists and turns that emerge from the revolutionary struggle are of a dual nature. They bring about temporary difficulties in revolution, but they also provide conditions for a still greater success for the cause of revolution. The revolutionary people always have to educate and temper themselves by both positive and negative experiences. Twists and turns in struggle can educate and temper us with negative examples. Through correctly summing up experience and lessons we prepare the conditions for a still greater victory in the cause of revolution. The failure of the First Revolutionary Civil War in 1927 deeply educated the Chinese people and made us understand the extreme importance for the proletariat to grasp the leadership and understand the Marxist truth that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, our Party mastered the three magic wands of the Chinese revolution, found the correct path of encircling cities with rural areas and finally seizing cities, and pushed the Chinese revolution to a new stage of development. These historical experiences are valuable assets of the revolutionary people. Chairman Mao has always urged our Party cadres to remember the experience and lessons from the many victories and defeats in our Party's history, in effect, urging us to learn to use the materialist-dialectical viewpoint to analyze and handle the twists and turns on the road of revolution and to understand the fact that twists and turns are inevitable in the development of history. When we study the efforts of the reactionary classes in history to restore the old order and the twists and turns that occurred in the course of struggle to consolidate the new social system, we shall be more aware of the importance of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration today.

Twists and turns in the course of revolution are simply whirlpools, big or small, in the long river of history. They are of no consequence. When we look at the whole course of history, we know that advance and progress are invariably the main aspects and essence of things and that twists

and regression are minor aspects and temporary phenomena of things. The proletariat will surely defeat the bourgeoisie, socialism will surely win over capitalism, and Marxism will surely prevail over revisionism. This is a well-established general trend of historical development. Chairman Mao points out: "The world is progressing, the future is bright and no one can change this general trend of history." ("On the Chungking Negotiations") Any twists and turns, even temporary setbacks or repetitions of history, can only affect the speed of historical development and cannot stop the march of history nor change the orientation of its development. Twists and turns in the development of history have been numerous in the past and in the present. From Confucius to Yüan Shih-k'ai and Chiang Kai-shek and from Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming to Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, all of them are reactionaries moving against the tides of history. Which of them was able to roll the wheel of history back? None. Instead, all of them lifted a rock only to drop it on their own feet, heading for self-destruction.

We are convinced that no twists and turns can hinder the progress of the cause of revolution, a conviction based on the historical materialist theory that "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history. At all times, the people are and will be masters of history, and they always want revolution. Under Chairman Mao's leadership, China's vast masses are persistent in taking the socialist road. Its working class, poor and lower-middle peasants, PLA commanders and fighters, revolutionary cadres, and revolutionary intellectuals have deep proletarian feelings for the Party and Chairman Mao and display the greatest enthusiasm for the cause of socialism. So long as we have a firm faith in and rely on the masses, we can overcome any twists and turns and conquer any difficulty confronting us. All class enemies at home and abroad invariably attempt to make use of the twists and turns that appear in the advance of our revolutionary cause to subvert our dictatorship of the proletariat and change our socialist system. But none has succeeded. This is because our revolutionary cause stands for the basic interests of the masses of the people and has their approval and support.

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. Another reason why we are convinced that no twists and turns can stop the advance of the cause of revolution is that our revolution is carried out under the guidance of the correct Marxist-Leninist line. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is a product of integration of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and is a fundamental guarantee for the victory of the revolution. It was by fully relying on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line that we defeated the imperialists and Chiang Kai-shek. We had guns and political power where we had none, and won tremendous victories in socialist revolution and revolution. Twists and turns that emerge in the course of struggle swayed by the erroneous line invariably cause grave danger to the revolutionary cause and may even lead to the failure of the revolution, but after the correct line becomes dominant, such turns and turns will only be partial and temporary, and can be overcome easily. Therefore, under the guidance of the correct line, achievements will always be primary and the situation always excellent. Tested by prolonged struggle, our Party, state organs, and the People's Liberation Army are sea-worthy. Tempered by 8 years of the great proletarian cultural revolution, China's dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated as never before. So long as we

strengthen revolutionary unity, unswervingly carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and correctly distinguish between and handle the two different types of contradictions, we will be able to improve still further the favorable revolutionary situation.

"The future is bright, the road is tortuous." This is a scientific conclusion derived from the summation of numerous historic experiences and verified by practice. In the midst of the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, we must, in conjunction with the instructions given by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee on past occasions, make a vigorous effort to study materialist dialectics, seriously sum up experience, strengthen Party leadership, and reinforce the unity of the whole Party. the whole army and the people of all nationalities across the country, and strive for still greater victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

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The Great Practice of Hundreds of Millions of People in Combating and Preventing Revisionism

by

Yü T'ung (俞 铜)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, Oct. 1, 1974)

Under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, our socialist mother country has gone through 25 years. In these years the Chinese people have taken the revolutionary road of firmly opposing and preventing revisionism.

At the 2nd Plenary Session of the 7th Party Central Committee on the eve of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, Chairman Mao pointed out: "To win countrywide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li." Chairman Mao's directive indicated for our Party the correct orientation for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletarian revolution is different from any revolution which replaces one system of exploitation by another. It is aimed at gradually wiping out the exploiting classes and systems of exploitation completely until all classes have finally disappeared. So far as the proletarian revolution is concerned, seizing political power is only the beginning of the revolution, more arduous and more glorious revolutionary tasks still lie ahead. At the historical stage of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle. The proletariat can decide the issue of who defeats whom and fulfill its historical mission only through class struggle and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is precisely under the guidance of Chairman Mao's theory and line on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat that since the founding of the PRC, we have persevered in taking the socialist road and waged a series of struggles against the bourgeoisie and its representatives within our Party. We have deepened the socialist revolution step by step and developed the cause of socialist construction day by day. These struggles have been, in essence, struggles over whether to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat or to restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, struggles over whether to practice Marxism or revisionism. The great proletarian cultural revolution has been a big contest of strength between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on top of many contests of strength between them in the past, this time on a broader and firmer basis. It is a great practice of the hundreds of millions of people in combating and preventing revisionism, a development of Chairman Mao's great thinking of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has propelled the development of history of Chinese society. The facts have fully proved that "the current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism." Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the great proletarian

cultural revolution mobilized hundreds of millions of the people to smash, one after the other, the two bourgeois headquarters led by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, eliminate the hidden trouble within the structure of the proletarian dictatorship, and make our Party purer and the proletarian dictatorship more consolidated than before. In the superstructure, including various spheres of culture, criticism of the bourgeoisie and revisionism has been deepened, the leadership of the proletariat has been strengthened, and socialist new things are developing with vigor. The socialist new things include the revolution in literature and art, the revolution in education, the migration of the educated youth to the mountain and rural areas, the "May 7" cadre schools, the cooperative medical service and barefoot doctors, the popular ranks of Marxist theorists,and the study by millions of people of the historical experiences of the Confucian-Legalist struggle and of class struggle as a whole. The broad masses of the people are in the course of struggle seriously studying and practicing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, studying the present and past with the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method, and linking their long-range goals and historical experiences with the current struggle. They have greatly enhanced their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and changed their mental outlook to a considerable extent.

The great proletarian cultural revolution led to the reform of certain parts of the superstructure which were incompatible with the economic base and to further liberation of the productive forces. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has permeated people's minds, the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts and the revolutionary spirit of building up the country through hard work and along economical lines have been further promoted. Learning from Tach'ing in industry and Tachai in agriculture, the broad masses of the people continue to march on production in depth and breadth with sky-rocketing zeal. The developing economic prosperity of socialist China is ever raising the living standard of the people. This booming scene contrasts sharply with that of the capitalist world beset with grave political and economic crises.

Based on the fact that the Soviet Union, the first socialist country, has degenerated into social-imperialism, prophets of imperialism once predicted that the socialist state under the proletarian dictatorship would inevitably turn revisionist and restore capitalism. The bankruptcy of this fallacy was declared by the great proletarian cultural revolution, whose basic experience shows that provided we firmly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and closely rely on the broad masses of the people, we will have the most dependable guarantee for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration.

A fundamental characteristic of the great proletarian cultural revolution is its direct mobilization of the masses in their hundreds of millions to wage a great struggle to oppose and prevent revisionism. "Never has there been a mass movement which is more extensive and intensive than the current one." It may be said that the great proletarian cultural revolution would not have been launched without the complete mobilization of the hundreds of millions of people.

The character of the dictatorship of the proletariat dictates the need to extensively and intensively mobilize the masses to carry out the struggle to oppose and prevent revisionism. The proletarian regime led by the Communist Party is a dictatorship by the overwhelming majority of people over a minority of exploiters. Such extensive and intensive mobilization of the masses by the great proletarian cultural revolution has fully demonstrated the features of our country's dictatorship of the proletariat, showing clearly that our government faithfully represents the basic interests of the hundreds of millions of people. But the dictatorship of all exploiting classes, including the fascist dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, is a dictatorship of the few over the many, and is involved in life-and-death, antagonistic contradictions with the masses of the people. If the masses of people in hundreds of millions are aroused, that would mean their extinction. Therefore, all exploiting classes have bitterly resented the revolutionary people and their revolution as if they were fierce beasts and rampant floods. That is also the basic reason why, from Soviet revisionist social-imperialism to the renegade and traitor Lin Piao and from the Chiang Kai-shek traitorous clique to the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, all of them have energetically cursed the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Marxists hold that history is made by the masses of the people. "A fundamental requirement of the Communist Party is to place direct reliance on the broad masses of the revolutionary people." At the stage of the democratic revolution, we won political power by carrying out propaganda among, organizing and boldly mobilizing the masses.

At the stage of socialist

revolution, we must also rely on carrying out propaganda among, organizing and boldly mobilizing the masses in our effort to consolidate political power, oppose and prevent revisionism and carry the revolution through to the end. The working class, poor and lower-middle peasants and other laboring people, PLA fighters and commanders, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals have the warmest love for Chairman Mao and the Communist Party and fully support the socialist system. In the old China, due to oppression by imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism, the broad masses of people were hard pressed by both hunger and cold and were totally deprived of political rights. It was only when they seized political power after decades of revolutionary war and arduous struggle under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party that they stood up and became masters of the country. Since the founding of the PRC, the broad masses of the people have proceeded with socialist revolution and construction under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, carrying out the struggle to thoroughly get rid of poverty and backwardness and to oppose capitalist restoration. From their personal experiences they understand deeply that only socialism can save China. In view of this, the broad masses of the people constitute the basic forces determined to carry the socialist revolution through to the end, and the workers, peasants and soldiers, being armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, are the reliable main force in combating and preventing capitalism.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has spurred the hundreds of millions of prople in the course of struggle to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, master the theory and line of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and enhance their capability of distinguishing between Marxism and revisionism and between the correct and the wrong lines. The great proletarian cultural revolution has been a large-scale exercise in preventing capitalist restoration, a big military drill in opposing the rise of revisionism to power. The hundreds of millions of people have weathered the storms in this great revolution; they have been educated and tempered. The reason why some people do not quite understand the need to mobilize the hundreds of millions of people to directly participate in the struggle to oppose the revisionist line in the great proletarian cultural revolution is that their world outlook is idealistic and they do not know nor recognize the basic Marxist truth that the masses of people alone are the motive force in the making of world history. Chairman Mao points out: "A line or a viewpoint must be talked about constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to explain it to a few people; it must be made known to the broad revolutionary masses." For it is the hundreds of millions of people armed with the Party's basic theory and line who play the decisive part in the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism during the entire historical period of socialism. It is here that the historical significance of the great proletarian cultural revolution and its principal gain are to be seen.

The strength of the proletariat comes from its revolutionary unity. In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, by relying on the great revolutionary unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the masses of people of all nationalities, we smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, eliminated the sabotage of class enemies and interference from erroneous ideas, and won tremendous victories in the struggle to oppose and prevent revisionism. "The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind. The most powerful revolutionary class ideologically, politically and in strength, it is capable of rallying the overwhelming majority of people around itself and of isolating to the maximum and attacking a small handful of enemies." From the very day when it mounted the political stage, the proletariat has all along emphasized unity of revolutionary ranks, considering revolutionary unity the basic guarantee of victory. To unite its own class, to unite with its allied forces and to unite with all forces that can be united with--this is the line and policy of the proletariat. Not to talk about and defend revolutionary unity means not to follow the proletarian line and policy. The class enemies, being most afraid of the proletariat and the broad masses when they are aroused and united, invariably rack their brains to sow dissension among them and to drive a wedge within the revolutionary ranks. One of the important aims of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao in planning so many counter-revolutionary tactics and carrying out so many conspiratorial activities was to vainly attempt to split the Party and divide the masses so as to undermine our revolutionary unity and facilitate their promotion of the anti-Party, anti-socialist revisionist line. We must maintain a high vigilance against the conspiracies of the class enemies to undermine our unity. Unite and don't split--this is a basic Marxist principle as well as a basic experience in attaining great victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has been a serious class struggle to smash the restoration plots of class enemies, and it has also been a big school for studying the way to handle correctly the contradictions among the people. During the great cultural revolution, the "unity-criticism-unity" formula, namely, the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient," was widely applied toward those comrades who had made more or less mistakes. Many comrades were assisted in making political progress. The great cultural revolution has taught many people how to correctly handle the differences of opinion within the revolutionary ranks, how to do penetrating and meticulous ideological and political work, and how to unite with those comrades who hold different opinions from one's own in working together. What is particularly important is that the great cultural revolution has made everyone deeply aware of the importance of the line and of the truth that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." As a result, they have greatly raised their consciousness of the line struggle, and in the course of work in various fields more consciously used the Party's basic line to observe and study problems and handle the relationship between man and man. This will have far-reaching repercussion on future struggles to oppose and prevent revisionism and on socialist revolution and construction.

The great victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution has shattered the dream of class enemies at home and abroad in vainly attempting to restore capitalism in our country, greatly consolidated and strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat, and built a great wall of iron against revisionism among the masses of the people. This is beneficial to the people of the world. History has already recorded a painful lesson: In the Soviet Union, a socialist state founded by Lenin, the rise of revisionism has led to the general restoration of capitalism and turned the country into social-imperialism. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique practices fascist dictatorship at home and perpetrates brutal exploitation and bloody suppression of the Soviet people. Abroad, it acts like a hegemonic power bullying, invading and exploiting others everywhere, and doing its utmost to undermine the revolutionary cause and liberation movements of the people of various countries. It has done all ugly and bad deeds. China is a socialist country with nearly 800 million people. If capitalist restoration were to take place there, it would mean not only a catastrophe to the Chinese people but also a disaster to the people of the world. The Chinese people and the people of the world have identical interests. Our purpose in carrying out the great proletarian cultural revolution is to insure that our socialist state will never change its color and that China will always stand on the side of the world's oppressed people and oppressed nations striving to make greater contributions to mankind.

The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao, is a continuation of the great proletarian cultural revolution, a political and ideological struggle in the sphere of the superstructure in which Marxism will prevail over revisionism and the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. From the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius have emerged a lot of socialist new things vitally significant

to the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship. This movement has already gained tremendous victories. We must draw on the basic experience of the great proletarian cultural revolution, trust and rely on the broad masses, give full play to the role of the workers, peasants and soldiers as the main force, unite with all forces that can be united with, and develop the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a widespread, deepgoing and sustained manner. It is only when the masses of the people actively plunge into the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius that it will be possible to make complete and deep criticism of Lin Piao's revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, the ideology of the decadent and declining exploiting classes. Only then will it be possible to conduct with further success the great struggle to oppose and prevent revisionism. The victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius have made us deeply convinced that: Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and with the direct participation of hundreds of millions of people, the cause of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat has great prospects, as has the cause of socialism and communism.

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Take the Road of Developing the Petroleum Industry by Our Own Efforts

by

the CCP Tach'ing Oilfield Committee

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, Oct. 1, 1974)

Under the wise leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao and under the guidance of his revolutionary line, the socialist mother country is thriving and booming. An excellent situation prevails in the Tach'ing Oilfield as in other parts of the country. Since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses of workers at the Tach'ing Oilfield and their dependents have seriously studied the Marxist-Leninist works and the works of Chairman Mao in the course of the violent struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. Criticism of the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao has further raised their capability of discerning the difference between real and false Marxism. Driven by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and that to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, new achievements have been scored in struggle, criticism and transformation in the sphere of the superstructure. New development was made with respect to "two theories." [referring to the application of "On Practice" and "On Contradiction"] The spiritual outlook of the broad masses of workers has changed profoundly and their revolutionary unity has been further enhanced. All this has propelled the rapid development of production and construction in the oilfield. While the oil zone which has been exploited for well over ten years has taken on new features, a new level has been attained in the output of the new oil zone. In the eight years since the great cultural revolution began, the output of Tach'ing's crude oil has continued to increase at the rate of an average annual growth of 31 percent. This year, driven by the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, a vigorous situation of general development of both revolution and production has appeared. From January to August the output of crude rose by 22.5 percent over the same period last year. At present the daily output is five times that of 1965 before the great cultural revolution began. In terms of output, Tach'ing of today is equal to five Tach'ings of the original size.

The development of the Tach'ing oilfield is an epitome of the development of China's petroleum industry through self-reliance. While the capitalist world is now beset with the "energy crisis," China's petroleum industry has grown by many times in a short span of 25 years. In preliberation days 90 percent of the oil had to be imported; today, China, becoming completely self-supporting in oil, has some surplus to export. This is a victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, a victory for the principle of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands, relying on our own efforts and building the country through hard work and along economical results.

Both the exploration and development of the Tach'ing oilfield have depended on self-reliance and arduous struggle. This is our deepest appreciation. In the early days, the Soviet renegade clique attempted to strangle us by tearing up the contracts and withdrawing its oil "experts."

The newly-founded Tach'ing Oilfield ran into all sorts of difficulties. Then the policy of self-reliance and arduous struggle gave us the strength to take on the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries in a trial of strength, and "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" provided us with a sharp weapon to smash foreign conventions and take our own road of industrial development. Represented by Comrade Wang Chin-hsi, the "iron man," the workers, cadres and technicians of Tach'ing proposed proudly: "Let's not depend on oil imports, and let's not take the road of the foreigners. Let's build our oilfield with our own hands!" Thus, entirely relying on their strength in prospecting and exploring the oilfield, they were able in a little more than one year to basically ascertain the size and reserve of the Tach'ing Oilfield and in three years to firmly establish the Tach'ing Oilfield, finding the way to carry out prospecting, exploration and building of a large oilfield self-reliantly and in accord with China's conditions. They provided some experience for the development of our country's petroleum industry with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

We have learned deeply from practice that the policy of self-reliance and arduous struggle reflects the revolutionary will of the Chinese working class and laboring people and embodies the superiority of the socialist system. It is a basic policy for carrying out properly the socialist revolution and construction. By adhering to this policy, an enterprise can develop its production with greater, faster, better and more economical results, and a state can become independent economically and politically and be in an invincible position. Implementation of this policy is not only necessary for the development of the socialist economy but also necessary for opposing and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and guarding against capitalist restoration. The purpose of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao in opposing the policy of self-reliance and arduous struggle and in advocating the slavish philosophy and the doctrine of crawling at a snail's pace was to vainly attempt to change the Party's basic line and policies for the whole of the historical stage of socialism, to alter the socialist system of proletarian dictatorship, and to reduce China into a colony of imperialism and social-imperialism. Therefore, whether or not to uphold this policy is not simply an economic problem, but first of all a political problem, a problem of the line. Adherence to the policy of self-reliance and arduous struggle is a component part of implementation of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Only by looking at this problem on the plane of the line, taking the Party's basic line as the key link, and continuing to criticize the revisionist line and the various erroneous ideas in violation of this policy will be it possible to insure the correct implementation of this policy.

In the course of developing Tach'ing several years ago, we faced the question of whether or not to continue to adhere to this policy under new conditions. For instance, some comrades thought that we could now sit back and relax because Tach'ing had for years running overfulfilled its state plans and scored substantial achievements. Some even advanced a "theory" saying that with years of stable and high output behind the oilfield, according to the law of oil production, subsequent output could only diminish progressively and it was impossible to achieve any big-margin increase in production. The prevalence of these erroneous ideas had for a time rendered the prompt solution of some contradictions under the ground

impossible, and production was placed in a passive situation. To find an answer to this problem, we called a conference attended by up to a thousand persons including leading members at various levels and veteran workers. At the same time, we mobilized the workers throughout the oilfield to air their views boldly, expose the contradictions that came to their notice, and table the problems they found. Hundreds of thousands of big-character posters were put up by the masses, revealing the facts about the struggle between the two lines and two ideologies in the oilfield. A host of vivid actual examples were cited to show that Tach'ing Oilfield, having been exploited for only ten years or so, still had great potential. Moreover, in the course of exploration, such advanced techniques as rational injection of water and rational exploitation were adopted. The problem we faced was one of whether it was necessary to continue the revolution and extract oil with greater, faster, better and more economical results, and not one of "diminishing returns." On the surface, this problem appeared to be one of knowing the potential of the oilfield, but in fact, the essence of the problem was this: With the enterprise developed, was it still necessary to persist in relying on our own efforts? With so many splendid achievements made, was it still necessary to continue to wage arduous struggle? Hence, this was a problem of principle and line. As the workers said: "The problem of the underground lies above the ground. The problem above the ground rests with the leadership, and the problem of the leadership lies with the line." The production of oil directly serves the socialist revolution and construction. Although our petroleum industry has developed substantially, higher demands have been placed on it by the excellent situation at home and abroad. We must continue to adhere to the policy of self-reliance and hard struggle, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and speed up the development of the petroleum industry before we can satisfy the requirements of the developing revolutionary cause.

Having raised our thinking, we led the masses to criticize Lin Piao's revisionist line, further eliminate the pernicious influence of the revisionist line, overcome such erroneous ideas as "arduous struggle is now behind us," and heighten one's consciousness of carrying out the policy of self-reliance and arduous struggle. This gave a greater scope to the socialist enthusiasm and creativity of the broad masses, who for the past few years have investigated and studied one by one the several thousand oil wells and explored for the laws of increasing their output. On the basis of an analytical study of several million pieces of data, technical innovations were carried out in a big way and a great many measures were proposed for increasing production. As a result, a situation has appeared in the entire oilfield in which "old wells give steady and high yields, new wells continue to produce more, and the entire oilfield continues to overfulfill its production quotas."

The strength of self-reliance exists among the masses. Carrying out the policy of self-reliance and arduous struggle presupposes unreserved trust of and reliance on the masses. Chairman Mao has taught us: "The wealth of society is created by the workers, peasants and working intellectuals.

As long as these people take their destiny into their own hands, have a Marxist-Leninist line, and solve problems with an active attitude instead of evading them, there is no difficulty on earth that cannot be solved." In the course of developing the oilfield over the past ten years or so, we have consistently given attention to fully trusting and relying on the masses and to carrying out the mass movement on a large scale. Problems, be they problems concerning exploration, construction and management of the oilfield or major scientific and technical problems, are turned over to the masses for extensive discussion, so that these problems may be solved through the strength of the masses. Regarding oilfield exploration, we turned over the plan to the masses and encouraged them to air and debate their views in a big way in order to make the plan more practical. In the field of science and technology, we persisted in forming "3-in-1" groups with the workers as the mainstay to undertake experiments, and brought the enthusiasm and creativeness of the masses into full play. In the field of oilfield construction, we turned over the engineering projects to the broad masses, whose rich practical experiences were used in making design, so that the projects might be arranged along lines of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results. We realized that provided we persisted in putting proletarian politics in command, wholeheartedly relied on the working class, and fully explained to the masses the Party's guidelines and policies, the orientation of the enterprise and the question of line and consulted them on the concrete contradictions and difficulties in production, there would be no difficulty that could not be surmounted and no task that could not be fulfilled. When people worked with a will, Mount T'ai could be removed. When the masses knew about the truth and had a common fighting goal, they would work with a will. When the masses worked with a will, their socialist enthusiasm and creativeness would be fully aroused and all things could be done well.

When a new oilfield joint battle started in 1973, the time was pressing and the task was urgent. But materials, equipment and manpower were inadequate. Were we to wait for the material and manpower to arrive and depend on other units for help or were we to rely on our own existing strength to solve the problems? The masses were urged to discuss this problem. Hearing about the joint battle, the broad masses already displayed a very high morale, indicating one after the other: The heavier the task, the harder we will work; the higher the goal, the higher our zeal. Instead of waiting for, depending on and asking for help, we must persist in working hard, breaking new ground and creating something new. In one month, the drilling teams, working day and night, brought all the several dozen drills to the new zone from a hundred li away, and produced new achievements quickly. After receiving their assignment more than 2,000 workers on the oilfield construction front, bringing along with them machinery and equipment of up to a thousand tons, converged at the joint battle site from various construction points 40-50 li away within 40 hours. Since transport equipment was insufficient, they used carts drawn by horses, cattle and mules, bicycles and hand-pushed carts and shoulder poles. Braving the wind and rain and working hard day and night, all the workers and cadres in the new oil zone attained a rather high level of exploration in the same year they arrived.

That carrying out the policy of self-reliance and arduous struggle entails the need to rely on the masses is clear to everybody. But to do so is not so easy. The key question of the struggle is whether we pay only lip service to reliance on the masses or really rely on them wholeheartedly. Some comrades, while they may rely on the masses in doing a particular task, refuse to trust them when it comes to questions bearing on the entire situation. Some comrades may rely on the masses in production but they may not rely on the masses in the field of science and technology. Some comrades may in ordinary times rely on the masses, but often forget the masses when they are confronted with a host of difficulties and contradictions in work. In this respect we have both experience and lessons. In the course of building the new oilfield, we mobilized and relied on the masses, with the result that not only did the exploration of the oilfield proceed at an unprecedented rate, but, on the basis of summing up past experience, new techniques and new processes of an advanced standard were created. These techniques and processes were simple in structure and justified on economic grounds. They could be applied and managed easily, and material might be obtained locally and indigenous methods might be used. This conformed to the principle of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results. The adoption of these techniques and processes, apart from saving the State large amounts of human and material resources, played an important role in insuring stable and high output of the oilfield on a long-term basis. But in another project in the oilfield, failure to mobilize the masses properly and to give full scope to their socialist enthusiasm retarded the speed of the project and delayed its completion. Facts have once more taught us that if we are to trust and rely on the masses, we must not only talk or do so in a limited way. We must remember the masses all the time and trust them in doing everything. We must see at any time that the masses have potentially great socialist enthusiasm and that it is their urgent desire to develop our country's petroleum industry with greater, faster, better and more economical results. A socialist enterprise can be run well and revolution and production can continue to climb new peaks only when proletarian politics is put in command and the enthusiasm of the masses is discovered from its essence and is correctly organized and put to work.

We also realize that to adhere to the policy of self-reliance and arduous struggle, it is necessary to have a revolutionary contingent of the "iron man" type, one that is armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Comrade Wang Chin-hsi, "iron man" and outstanding representative of the working class at Tach'ing, was a hero defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as well as a model in sticking to self-reliance and arduous struggle. In the past decade and more, we have gone on organizing the workers to launch the activities of learning from the "iron man," guiding them to take the "iron man" as the example and to make a serious study of Marxist-Leninist works and the works of Chairman Mao. The worker masses said: In the past we depended on the "two theories" in exploring Tach'ing. Today, in developing Tach'ing we must all the more seriously read the Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings and use the proletarian world outlook to guide our action. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and that to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius have caused everyone to see more deeply the urgency and

importance of serious reading and studying. The enthusiasm for studying revolutionary theories has soared to an unprecedented height. A large group of activists in reading and studying has emerged. Theoretical study groups have spread across the oilfield. For the past years Party committees at various levels in the oilfield have given special attention to conducting the education in the Party's basic line among the vast numbers of workers, always putting it in the first position no matter how busy production or how heavy the tasks would be. Since the 10th Party Congress, the oilfield has once again extensively and intensively developed the education on the Party's basic line during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and that to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Applying the method of linking recollection of past class sufferings with revolutionary mass criticism, we criticized Lin Piao, Confucius and the landlord and bourgeois classes in the same breath. The old workers, with their personal experiences in the old society, and the new workers, with their bitter family histories, strongly criticized Lin Piao's revisionist line of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. The revolutionary mass criticism has further raised the consciousness of class struggle and two-line struggle on the part of the broad masses, aroused their deep hatred against Lin Piao and his revisionist line, and deepened their understanding of the Party's basic line.

Over the years, following the development of the petroleum industry, more and more old workers have been sent out to assist in the building of new oilfields while large groups of young workers have joined the working-class ranks at Tach'ing at one time and another. Tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution, these young workers have a relatively high political consciousness and enthusiasm and vigor for building socialism. The revolutionary cause of the proletariat must be taken over by them, and the red banner of Tach'ing must be passed down by them generation after generation. Therefore, in building a revolutionary contingent of the "iron man" type, especial attention must be given to their training and education. Party committees at various levels in the oilfield, apart from allowing these young workers to weather the storm in the three major revolutionary movements, have seriously impressed on them the tradition of the Tach'ing joint battle in light of Tach'ing's reality in the course of the education on the Party's basic line. Whenever new workers entered the plants or joined the drilling teams of the oilfield, they were first of all required to do "three things" well: First, to study "On Practice," "On Contradiction" and other writings by Chairman Mao and to apply the theories contained therein in the course of the three major revolutionary movements. Second, to study the history of the drilling teams and history of joint battle in order to understand that Tach'ing is a product of going against the tide, to forever adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and develop the proletarian spirit of revolutionary struggle. Third, to visit the first well drilled by the "iron man" in the early period of the joint battle so as to have higher aspirations through self-reliance and beat new paths through arduous struggle. These three things were described by the workers as "three magic wands." The young workers said: Remember these "three magic wands," and you will be clear about the orientation of revolution. Now, talking about the line, studying the "two theories," inheriting

the spirit of the "iron man," and displaying the tradition of the joint battle have already become a common practice of the oilfield, which has become a big crucible of the revolution in which "iron men" by the thousands are growing up steadily.

In training revolutionary ranks and urging the masses to adhere to the policy of self-reliance and arduous struggle, it is vitally important for leading organs and leading cadres to set themselves as an example. The strength of an example is unlimited. It is the cadres who lead the ranks to form a good style of work, and it makes a world of difference whether a leading cadre sets himself as an example. Over the past years we have continuously persuaded leading organs and leading cadres at various levels to learn from Comrade Wang Chin-hsi, the "iron man," to struggle against the ideas of seeking comfort and leisure, and to persist in revolutionary styles and systems such as "3-turnings" (turning to the basic level, to the masses and to production), "five-on-the-spot" (carry out political work, exercise production command, do designing work, make logistics supply and render livelihood service on the spot) and "cadres live with drilling teams" and "cadres do labor." Following these revolutionary styles and systems, the leading cadres will go deep into reality, among the masses and to the first line, being among the first to suffer hardships and to wage arduous struggle. In the course of the joint battle of opening up the new oil zone and transforming the old oil zone last year, leading organs at various levels set up eight front command posts, with leading cadres doing office work in the field and directing production 24 hours. Up to a thousand cadres, carrying baggage on their backs, arrived at the basic level to work with the masses and direct production at the frontline. The well drilling command post moved twice in one year, getting closer and closer to the front. Party committees at various levels in the oilfield continued to urge leading cadres to do what the masses did and to share the weal and woe with the masses. The workers lived in the dormitories and slept on the worksite, and leading cadres at various levels also lived in the office or in dormitories.
The vast numbers of basic-level cadres persisted in living with the teams and doing labor all year round, insisting on practicing "four togetherness" with the masses. They insisted on checking whether the workers slept with quilts in the dormitories at night. They helped the cooks in the kitchens, and delivered medicine to the patients. They also visited people in their homes and talked with them. Many comrades always work where things are most difficult. That is why they can lead the ranks to always preserve the vigor and vitality and maintain the revolutionary spirit and style of self-reliance and arduous struggle.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength, and that means regeneration through one's own efforts." When we study Chairman Mao's teachings again and look back over the road we have travelled, we feel extremely heartened
The workers of Tach'ing have said well: Achievements can only show the past; they cannot show the present, let alone the future. We should, like

the mountaineers, leave our footprints behind and continue to advance toward new fighting goals. We are determined in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius to further enhance our consciousness of the line struggle, continue to strengthen our revolutionary unity on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and strive to win still greater victories.

* * *

Persist in Revolution, Strive to Advance

by

the Tachai Production Brigade Party Branch

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, Oct. 1, 1974)

In the excellent situation marked by the great victories won in the great proletarian cultural revolution and by the widespread, thorough and sustained development of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the National Day of our great socialist mother country has arrived. We poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members of Tachai Brigade warmly cheer: Long live Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

On the eve of the nationwide victory of the democratic revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out: "This victory will breach the eastern front of imperialism and will have great international significance." "We are not only good at destroying the old world, we are also good at building the new. Not only can the Chinese people live without begging alms from the imperialists, they will live a better life than that in the imperialist countries." 25 years of struggle by the Chinese people has completely proved this far-sighted prediction of Chairman Mao's. The old China of poverty and backwardness which was once bullied and humiliated by imperialism has changed into a new China of vitality enjoying initial prosperity. At the same time, the old Tachai has also become a new Tachai. If anyone who left Tachai 25 years ago returned home today, he would no longer see the old streets, old villages, old fields, and old houses. In a short span of 25 years, Tachai, like other urban and rural areas in the country, has undergone earth-shaking changes.

For 25 years, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the cadres and masses of Tachai have waged a struggle against nature and class enemies in the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, and achieved one victory after another in developing socialist agriculture. In the old days there were many hills and gullies in Tachai. In addition to the shortage of level land, Tachai used to be attacked by natural disasters year after year. A new outlook now prevails in the new village of Tachai, where the hills are green and the land level. Relying on the socialist enthusiasm of the poor and lower-middle peasants and developing the superiority of the collective economy, we have fulfilled the 10-year farmland construction plan. We have remade the hills and gullies and built terraced fields which provide sufficient water and fertilizer as well as good soil. Based on the new achievements, we have continued to advance in big strides by making revolution on the "sponge" land. We have also succeeded in turning hills and gullies into "artificial plains." In the old days, the 800 mow of arable land in the area of the present brigade were broken up into 4,700 strips. The biggest piece of land was no more than 3 mow. Now there are only some 2,000 strips of land and some flat land areas are as big as 10 to 20 mow. In the past 25 years, we have succeeded in taking water from

the Sunghsiho River to the Hutoushan Mountain and in building a long canal winding across the mountain over 7 hills and 8 gullies. In the past 25 years, we have been marching forward vigorously in turning agricultural production from complete manual labor to mechanization. Overhead cables for transportation have been installed, and tractors have been put to work. The past 25 years have also witnessed tremendous progress in scientific farming. Experimental farming, including growing two crops a year or 5 crops in 2 years as well as replacing the cultivation of ordinary food grains with fine food grains, is being successfully carried out.

The drastic change in farming conditions has played an important role in resisting natural disasters in the struggle for higher output. No matter how serious the disasters, we have managed to maintain a high and stable yield. Right after liberation, the per-mow yield amounted to only a little over 100 catties. In 1953, the first year of cooperativization, per-mow output reached 250 catties. When the people's commune was established in 1958, per-mow output rose to 540 catties, reaching the targets set for areas south of the Yellow River. The great call "in agriculture, learn from Tachai" issued by Chairman Mao in 1964 provided us with tremendous inspiration, when per-mow output reached 809 catties, exceeding the targets set for areas south of the Yangtze River. In 1971, after the conclusion of the agricultural conference in North China, per-mow output exceeded 1,000 catties. During the past 25 years we have suffered extremely serious floods, windstorms and hail. In the past 3 years, our brigade was hit by serious drought. But the natural disasters cannot diminish our revolutionary vigor nor prevent us from taking the socialist road with firmer determination. Our production has never been reduced as a result of natural disasters; on the contrary, we managed to gather bumper yields under the threat of serious natural disasters. Following the development of agricultural production, our contribution to the State has also increased year after year. Before cooperativization, the Tachai brigade sold no surplus grain or only a small quantity of grain to the State. Since 1959, our brigade has delivered more than 240,000 catties of commercial grain to the State annually. Although our brigade was hit by extremely serious natural disasters in 1972, we still delivered 400,000 catties of surplus grain to the State, establishing a peak record for our brigade.

The consolidation and development of the socialist collective economy put an end to the state of poverty and backwardness in the Tachai brigade. In the old days, there used to be "five mores" in the old village of Tachai, namely, there were more people who grazed cattle and sheep, more people who worked as hired hands, more people whose lives were dependent on begging, more people who sold their children, and more people who committed suicide. But there are "eight mores" in the new Tachai of new China, namely, more grain harvested, more income from forestry, livestock breeding and sideline production, more new houses, more farm machines, more surplus grain sold to the State, more reserved grains for the collective, more food grain for commune members and more bank deposits by individuals.

In the past 25 years, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and members of Tachai brigade have launched one attack after another against old ideas, old culture,

old customs and old habits left over by all exploiting classes. The ideological-cultural sphere of Tachai brigade is being dominated, step by step, by the new ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits of the proletariat. The study of Marx and Lenin and Chairman Mao's works has become a common practice in Tachai brigade today. Meanwhile, telling revolutionary stories and singing and performing model revolutionary theatrical works have also become common practice in Tachai. Having completed the reading of the four volumes of the "Selected Works of Mao Tsetung", the cadres and Party members are now studying the "Communist Manifesto", "Critique of the Gotha Program" and other works by Marx and Lenin. The ranks of poor and lower-middle peasant theorists are developing successfully now. The literary and art propaganda teams have been divided into small groups to perform in the fields and worksites. To celebrate revolutionary festivals, the new year and the spring festival, small-scale plays are performed on stage and dances and songs are presented on the streets. Combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism, the creation groups have produced large numbers of poems, ballads, stories and many other items, wholeheartedly praising Chairman Mao, the Communist Party and socialism, as well as recommending the outstanding elements and heroic deeds of the brigade. We, poor and lower-middle peasants and members of Tachai brigade, are energetically studying and summing up the historical experience of the struggle between Confucian and Legalist schools and all class struggles in the past, and penetratingly criticizing Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. We have mobilized all available propaganda forces to propagate the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius through drama, singing, telling revolutionary stories and showing magic lantern slides. This has consolidated and expanded the ideological-cultural front of the proletariat, and further promoted the ideological revolutionization of cadres and masses.

Tremendous changes have taken place in the outlook, land and village of Tachai in the past 25 years. But what is more important is the fact that under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the peasants who used to be restricted by the private ownership of the means of production, have become or are being transformed into a generation of new-type socialist peasants in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the production struggle and scientific experiment. In this new generation of peasants are peasants who uphold Marxism and socialism and oppose revisionism and capitalism ever more consciously, and who have been emancipated from the mental shackles of all kinds of traditional ideas formed by the system of private ownership in the past hundreds of years. They represent new-type peasants who dare to fight and win in the struggle against all class enemies, serious natural disasters and poverty left over from the old society, who are capable of knowing as well as transforming the world with the viewpoint, stand and method of dialectical materialism and historical materialism and who cherish the motherland and keep the whole globe in view with communist ideals and style. The "common rules" and "human sentiment" of all exploiting classes have been or are being criticized and replaced by our understanding of the laws of society and nature. This represents a most important hallmark through which the old Tachai has become a new Tachai.

Why have such tremendous changes taken place in Tachai? We have come to understand most deeply that after the completion of the transformation of the ownership of the means of production in the countryside, it is necessary for the Party organizations to continuously keep a firm grip on the key link of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, resolutely implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line at all times and under any condition, and adhere to the struggle to criticize and resist the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." With the correct line, we will have the basic guarantee for victory. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we have led the masses of Tachai to adhere to revolution and progress and oppose capitalist restoration and regression, and wage a resolute struggle against class enemies, the revisionist line, wrong ideas of all descriptions, and nature in the past 25 years. All this has resulted in the revolutionary changes of Tachai. The feudal relations of production were eliminated by the land reform movement. In the subsequent 10 years, we established mutual-aid teams and agricultural producers' cooperatives, crushing the arrogance of Liu Shao-ch'i, who promoted the road of rich peasant economy of "3 oxen and one plow" and slashed back the cooperatives, and achieving a victory in cooperativization and in the formation of people's communes. After the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, Chairman Mao formulated the Party's basic line throughout the historical period of socialism. Chairman Mao pointed out in this basic line: "Socialist society covers a fairly long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration." Thanks to the Party's basic line, we have become more profoundly aware of the protracted and complicated nature of class struggle during the historical period of socialism, and have thus been able to raise our consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. As a result, we have become more conscious in upholding Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as well as in resisting and criticizing the revisionist line. While promoting the "T'aoyüan experience" in 1964, Liu Shao-ch'i attempted to restore capitalism with feverish efforts. Seeing through the reactionary nature of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai brigade made up their minds to wage a tit-for-tat struggle. The great proletarian cultural revolution destroyed the two bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. We tempered ourselves once again in the course of the struggle. We grasped the ultra-Right essence of Lin Piao's revisionist line and scathingly criticized it, thus smashing the plots of the bourgeoisie to restore capitalism and consolidating as well as developing the excellent situation since the great proletarian cultural revolution. The launching of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has helped us better understand the class struggle and struggle between the two lines throughout the historical period of socialism. By summing up the historical experience of the struggle between Confucian and Legalist schools and all class struggles in the past, we have come to know that in replacing the dictatorship of the slave-owning class with the dictatorship of the landlord class, there was a protracted and fierce struggle between restoration and counter-restoration. Today, in order to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat, replace capitalism with socialism,

eliminate all exploiting classes, and finally realize communism, it is necessary for us to undergo even longer and more fierce struggle. We must firmly bear in mind the Party's basic line, adhere to the socialist road, persist in continuing the revolution, and carry the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines through to the end.

Led by Chairman Mao, our struggle to build a new China has passed a quarter of a century. Our achievements in the past are great, and our future is extremely bright. The revolution is developing and the people are advancing. The great movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has brought about unceasing and deepgoing development of socialist revolution in the superstructure. In this profound political and ideological struggle, we, poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai, have devoted ourselves to a more earnest study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, scathingly criticizing Lin Piao's revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, strengthening revolutionary unity, and mobilizing all positive factors that can be mobilized to strive for still greater victories in both revolution and production. We are determined to act on Chairman Mao's teaching "China ought to make a greater contribution to humanity," continue to adhere to the principle of putting politics in command and giving prominence to ideology. We are determined to carry forward the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle and the communist style of cherishing the State and the collective, constantly regard the achievements as a new starting point, learn from all advanced units throughout the country, and unceasingly strive for building a big and modernized socialist agriculture.

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Once the Army and the People Are United as One Man, Who in the World Can Match Them?

by

Party Branch of 3rd Company of a Certain Unit of PLA
Tsinan Units

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, October 1, 1974)

Our company is stationed on an island in the north of the motherland. In the past two decades and more, we have acted on Chairman Mao's teachings on cementing the unity between the army and the people and practicing the principle of solidarity between armymen and civilians and have formed one in spirit and action with the local masses wherever we may be. The armymen and civilians are like kinsmen fighting together in defense of the sacred territorial waters of the motherland. Since the in-depth development of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the cadres and the fighters of the whole company have penetratingly criticized the revisionist line of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and the bourgeois military line pushed by renegade and traitor Lin Piao, and have gone further to criticize his crimes of undermining unity between army and people and the principle of solidarity between armymen and civilians, thereby greatly enhancing their consciousness of unity between army and people.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is a people's army personally founded and commanded by the great leader Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao has charted for our army a Marxist-Leninist military line. Correctly handling the relations between the army and the people, strengthening unity between them and enforcing the principle of solidarity between armymen and civilians is a component part of this line. Whether we should uphold the principle of unity between the army and the people and solidarity between armymen and civilians or undermine this principle has always been an important problem in the struggle between two military lines. In the past few decades, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian line for military affairs, our army has surmounted the interference and sabotage by the "Left" and Right opportunist lines and upheld the principle of solidarity between armymen and civilians. Under the Party's leadership, the armymen and civilians are in one accord and fight in unity, overcoming various hardships and barriers, defeating the ferocious enemies at home and abroad and winning victories one after another. The practice makes us understand that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line intensively expresses the basic interests and wishes of the whole Party, the whole army and the whole Chinese people. It is a beacon light directing our army to advance in triumph; it also serves as the common basis for strengthening unity between the army and people and enforcing the principle of solidarity between armymen and civilians.

When our army was founded, Chairman Mao pointed out clearly: 'The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should certainly not

confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations." After the initiation of the period of socialist revolution, some tasks of struggle have changed, and our army has faced some conditions different from those of the past. But it remains an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. The tasks of "doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses and arming the masses" set for our army by Chairman Mao have not changed. The basic requirements of mass work for our army during the period of socialism are, under the unified leadership of the local Party committee and with the Party's basic line as the key link, to propagandize Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought among the rank and file, to organize and arm the masses, to defend the motherland, smash all aggressive and subversive activities of imperialism and social-imperialism, and crush all sabotage activities of the class enemies. As Chairman Mao teaches us, "Unite for one purpose, that is, consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat." When we so act, the masses of people will support us, and it will be possible to basically achieve unity between the army and the people and solidarity between armymen and civilians. Lin Piao frenziedly employed all possible means to oppose and annihilate our army's mass work. His sinister aim was to sever the flesh-and-blood relations between our army and the people and to lead our army to the sidetrack of divorcing itself from the masses. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we have penetratingly criticized Lin Piao's fallacy that "the masses are backward," criticized his crimes in sabotaging unity between the army and the people and solidarity between armymen and civilians, and reviewed the mass work done by our company over the past years. We deeply feel that the basic line Chairman Mao has charted for our Party for the whole historical period of socialism guides our various branches of work, and we must, on the high plane of this basic line, understand the importance of mass work in strengthening unity between the army and the people and solidarity between armymen and civilians.

Some time ago, the class enemy's sowing dissension secretly created a barrier between some cadres and the masses in Houk'ou brigade where our company was stationed. A leading cadre of the brigade refused to turn around after being criticized by the masses. We found that helping this leading cadre raise his consciousness of the two-line struggle and forging the unity of the leading group was crucial to guaranteeing implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and various directives and policies, rallying the broad masses to fight against the enemy and perseveringly following the socialist road. Accordingly, we got together with the leading members of the Party general branch of the brigade to study the series of Chairman Mao's important instructions on the great proletarian cultural revolution, to recount past sufferings and think about the present happy life. We called on the brigade leading cadre in question on a few dozen occasions, helping him adopt a correct attitude toward himself and toward the cadres and the masses who held opinions different from his. This made him enhance his understanding and adopt a correct attitude. On his own

initiative he talked to the cadres and masses holding differing opinions, humbly listened to them and made self-criticism. The cadres and masses of the brigade became united very quickly on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Fishing is a major occupation in this brigade. In the past, fishing boats had to be repaired in other localities. This not only involved expenditure of up to 100,000 yuan or more but also often delayed the fishing operations. While penetratingly carrying out the "In agriculture, learn from Tachai" movement, the leading cadres and the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants in the brigade proposed building a shipyard through self-reliance. A handful of class enemies, however, took the chance to spread feudal ideas and superstitions and carry out sabotage. A few cadres and some of the masses feared that building a shipyard would involve heavy investments and that they would not be able to build it because they did not have the know-how. They wavered. Upon learning this, we got together with the brigade cadres to organize the masses to study the Party's basic line and Chairman Mao's teachings about "self-reliance and arduous struggle," and to uncover and criticize the class enemies' sabotage and conspiracies, thereby strengthening the confidence of the cadres and masses in building a shipyard through self-reliance. Meanwhile, we sent some people to help the brigade carry out surveying and designing and carry out underwater explosions. We organized the cadres and fighters to take part in construction work during holidays and in spare times. Under the concrete leadership of the hsien and commune authorities, and with the joint efforts of the broad masses of poor and lower-middle fishermen of the whole village, the shipyard was completed within less than a year's time, so that ordinary repairs of fishing boats could be carried out in the brigade. This has played an enormous role in developing fisheries over the past few years. Because the cadres and masses of the brigade have continuously raised their consciousness of class struggle and two-line struggle and because they have united to fight against the enemy, a new atmosphere has emerged in revolution and production. With the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius deepening continuously, the brigade has set up a political evening school to train a contingent of theorists among the poor and lower-middle fishermen. The socialist collective economy has continued to consolidate and develop. In 1973, the annual gross value of fishing and farm output increased by 1.4 times as against that before the great cultural revolution, and public accumulation exceeded 2 million yuan.

An important task of doing propaganda among the masses and organizing and arming the masses during the period of socialism is to answer Chairman Mao's call to turn all people into soldiers and build a successful militia. Houk'ou brigade has honorable, revolutionary traditions. During the years of war, it sent a great number of militiamen and boats to take part in transporting supplies to the front and to follow the army to the south, accomplishing their tasks with remarkable results. It won the glorious title of "a model village in supporting the front."

To strengthen militia building, we often get together with the comrades of the brigade Party general branch and the militia company to recount the past honorable traditions and help them fully understand the position and role of the militia in the struggle for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. We often send our cadres and fighters to help the militiamen carry out military training well, so they can continuously heighten their political consciousness and improve their combat skills. The militia of the brigade has, coordinating with the regular army, many times crushed the sabotage activities of the class enemies at home and abroad. It has been rated for four years in succession as an advanced unit in the hsien in carrying out militia work organizationally, politically and militarily.

It has taken our company some time to understand the need to strengthen unity between army and people and cementing the relations between armymen and civilians. We feel that the most fundamental aspect of this problem is to adopt a correct attitude toward the masses of the people. Chairman Mao points out: "The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and to serve them wholeheartedly." Because we serve the people wholeheartedly and are children of the people, we must constantly remain humble and prudent, respect the people and learn humbly from them. Only in this way can we preserve the natural color of the people's army and form one with the people forever. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we have further organized the cadres and fighters of the whole company to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's teaching "The Liberation Army should learn from the whole Chinese people," and to criticize Lin Piao's crimes in sabotaging our army's honorable traditions of remaining humble and prudent. Thus the cadres and fighters have adopted a correct attitude toward the people and heightened their consciousness of learning from the people. We also often organize the cadres and fighters to go out of their barracks to make social investigations and, with the fishing villages as their classrooms and the masses as their teachers, carry out activities of learning from the masses. We often invite the cadres, old Party members and old poor fishermen of Houk'ou brigade to come to our company headquarters to make reports and talk about their traditions. We often hold informal meetings to solicit criticism and opinions from the cadres and the masses of the villages. Through these activities, we humbly learn from the people their noble character and their spirit of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A cadre in Houk'ou brigade is a demobilized armyman. Though crippled, he has firm determination. He goes to the fore in class struggle and struggle for production and leads the masses to perseveringly embark on the socialist road. There is also an old Party member who during the war-torn years delivered ammunition to our army at the front at the risk of his life and won a meritorious service award of the first order. Over the past few years, despite his old age and poor health, he has still worked as vigorously as he did during the war years. He never took the credit for himself, nor did he become arrogant. He perseveringly leads the young people to go fishing on the sea throughout the year, continuously making

new contributions toward socialist construction. Taking charge of public property, an old poor fisherman of the brigade, constantly fighting against hardship and practicing diligence and frugality,cherishes even a glass bulb, a piece of nylon string and a wooden plank for the collective. The poor and lower-middle fishermen call him "an old storekeeper with a red heart." The masses' high consciousness of class struggle and two-line struggle, and their noble character of fighting against hardships and remaining humble and prudent cause the cadres and fighters to find their shortcomings and to learn their lessons.

Carrying forward the fine tradition of remaining humble and prudent and learning humbly from the masses is a question of world outlook. The Marxist historical materialism tells us that the masses are the motive force in the making of world history and the fountain of strength for continuously developing and strengthening our army. Only by firmly establishing the materialist conception of history that the slaves create history and by penetratingly criticizing the idealist conception of history that "heroes make history" as trumpeted by Lin Piao, can we uphold the viewpoint of learning from the masses. During the period of socialist revolution and construction, our army is the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the masses support us and warmly love us, giving us great honor. Under these circumstances, we should all the more remain humble and prudent, respect the masses and learn humbly from them. Lin Piao went all out to destroy our army's honorable tradition of remaining humble and prudent, in a wild attempt to divorce our army from the broad masses of the people, to lord it over the people and to take the road of warlordism. He could never do this.

In order to strengthen unity between the army and people and to practice the principle of solidarity between armymen and civilians, we must do everything in the interests of the people, meet the people's urgent needs and always bear in mind the safety and comfort of the masses. When the lives and property of the masses are threatened, we must come forward bravely to protect them even though we may have to sacrifice ourselves. One evening in the winter of 1971, a 10th-grade typhoon suddenly attacked. More than 50 fishing boats belonging to Houk'ou brigade were anchoring in the bay. Seeing that these boats were about to be crashed into pieces or swept away by the water, all the people of the village, men and women, old and young, came to the seaside for rescue operations. Learning this, we urgently summoned the whole company and hurried to the scene. Displaying our army's style of showing no fear of sacrifice and fatigue and fighting battles successively, our comrades joined the masses in the battle. The fighters, their hands and feet benumbed by the bone-piercing cold sea water, did not utter a sigh. Some of them had their legs scratched and bleeding, but they endured their pain and kept on fighting. After more than two hours of battle, all the fishing boats were dragged ashore.

The only son of an old poor fisherman lost his life on the sea when he attempted to save the collective property while fishing. He was survived by his parents. We felt that the poor and lower-middle fishermen's hardships were also our hardships. So, the fighters frequently helped the old couple in carrying water, gathering firewood and cleaning their house.

They cultivated a vegetable plot in their courtyard so they could have vegetables. During New Year's Day and other festivals, they would visit them. When the old couple fell ill, the fighters would bring them medicine. This further cemented the ties between the armymen and civilians.

The Party's policies and our army's Three Major Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention have been set in the interests of the people. Exemplarily carrying out various policies and observing all rules of discipline are a concrete expression of loving care for the people, working for the people and improving the unity between the army and the people. We constantly educate the cadres and fighters in the observance of policy and discipline in the light of their actual thinking so as to continuously heighten their consciousness in carrying out the Party's policies and observing discipline. The comrades make it a point to do this: In carrying out urgent tasks of war preparedness, they firmly remember to make war preparedness for the people. They never forget to work for the people while making war preparedness. They do not take war preparedness as an excuse for violating mass discipline. They have the support of the masses, and they firmly remember that a people's army works for the people. They do not claim any special rights because they have the people's support. They won't violate mass discipline because the masses are grateful to them. In doing good things for the people, they firmly remember to do them for the people. Honest to the people, they won't violate mass discipline because they have done some good things for the masses. On one occasion, the kelp bed bred by Houk'ou brigade was hit by a typhoon. Braving the winds and waves, the cadres and fighters saved the kelp which was about to be washed away by the water. In the course of doing this, some fighters accidentally broke five glass bulbs. We compensated the brigade for the loss. The poor and lower-middle fishermen said: "The kelp you have saved is worth thousands of glass bulbs. Why give us compensation?" We felt that though these glass bulbs were not expensive, they belonged to the people. Strictly observing discipline is a problem of principle in cherishing and working for the people. We made the compensation according to the price.

As we put the interests of the people in the first position and consciously work for the benefits of the masses, the broad masses of poor and lower-middle fishermen of Houk'ou brigade take us as their children and show us warm concern and vigorous support in various ways. When the company carries out tasks of war preparedness, they would actively take part in them and give us help. When the company carries out construction work, they would send some people to help us. When the company runs into difficulties, they would give us all-out help. In the summer of 1972, our company's artillery positions along the front were destroyed by huge tidal waves in a typhoon. The highers-up instructed us to repair them within one month. When the brigade's Party organization and militia company learned of this, they immediately organized the masses of the whole village to give us help and join us in carrying earth and rocks, building dams and filling hollows. With the vigorous help by the masses, the artillery positions were repaired ahead of schedule. Some time ago, the company went to another island to

carry out provisional construction work. The poor and lower-middle fishermen and militiamen of Houk'ou brigade not only supplied us with vegetables, but also joined the comrades who remained on guard on the island in performing the company's garrison duty.

"Once the army and the people are united as one man, who in the world can match them?" At a time when the whole Chinese people are warmly celebrating the 25th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China and when the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is broadening and widening in a sustained manner, we must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's military writings, penetratingly criticize Lin Piao's bourgeois military line, heighten our consciousness of the two-line struggle, firmly establish the idea of serving the people wholeheartedly and, while stepping up war preparations, do an even better job in supporting the government and cherishing the people.

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Chairman Mao's Guiding Light Illuminates Liehmai

by

the Party Branch of Liehmai Commune, Lungtzu Hsien, Tibet

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, Oct. 1, 1974)

Founded by the great leader Chairman Mao, the People's Republic of China has covered a brilliant militant course of a quarter century. The history of the past 25 years shows that Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is a "golden lamp" illuminating our road of victorious advance. This year's National Day is also a red-letter day marking the 7th anniversary of the founding of our Liehmai people's commune. We are filled with boundless joy when we look at the excellent situation of the whole country; we are filled with excitement when we look back over the tremendous changes that have taken place in Liehmai since the democratic reform, particularly since the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In the dark, old Tibet, Liehmai was no better than a hell on earth. The three kinds of major manorial lords lay like a dead weight on the people. They forcibly occupied all the land. The laboring people were ruthlessly exploited and oppressed. Taxes were heavy and many. But, the serf owners still made all excuses to squeeze the people. They imposed the so-called birth and death taxes, cigarette tax, haircut tax, ear ring tax, and what not. Before the democratic reform, of the 183 families, 128 had to borrow money from the serf owners at usurious rates of interest. The total amount of loans could buy close to 1,000,000 catties of grain. The serfs had no personal freedom whatsoever and were regarded as "speaking animals." While working or walking, they were not allowed to look at the faces of the serf owners. They were often cruelly persecuted. Laboring like beasts of burden, the serfs led a miserable life of "empty belly and having nothing to cover their legs." During the four or five decades before the democratic reform, 55 people in the village were forced to flee to other places to live by begging, while many others died of cold and hunger. 18 were brutally murdered by serf owners. At that time, Liehmai was filled with the serfs' blood and tears.

In 1959, a Red storm swept across this vast highland. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, millions of serfs shattered the iron fetters to which they had been chained for a thousand years, and completely buried the most reactionary and darkest feudal serf system, bringing about earth-shaking changes in Tibet. Liehmai has changed completely since then.

Leihmai is situated in the Himalayan mountain region of the mother country. It was formerly a poverty-stricken mountain valley with "little farmland and short of grain, water and fodder grass." Before the democratic reform, the whole hsiang had only 1,182 k'e of arable land, averaging one k'e and 15 sheng per person (20 sheng make one k'e, and one k'e is equal to one mow). The total annual grain output was only 330,000

catties or so and there were only 4,065 domestic animals of various kinds. At present, the acreage of farmland has expanded to 2,305 k'e, being almost double that of the past. Per-unit-area output of grain has surpassed the "Program" target, and total grain output in 1973 exceeded 796,000 catties, topping that of the past by 141 percent. There are 11,200 domestic animals, topping that of the past by 175 percent. Meanwhile, considerably great developments have also been made in forestry and side-occupations. Since the establishment of the people's commune, public accumulation has increased to more than 51,000 yuan and the collective grain reserve also exceeds 45,000 catties. The commune has sold more than 740,000 catties of surplus grain to the State.

Old Tibet was technically very backward. We did not have a screw. The four worn picks were the most advanced production tools in our hsiang before the democratic reform. Now, in addition to large numbers of big and small farm tools, we have five big and small tractors, seven 7-row sowing machines, five powered threshers, and other agricultural machines including diesel engines and water pumps. The emancipated serfs who had for the past generations used hay stalks for lighting purposes are now building a small hydroelectric station with the capacity of 110 kilowatts. Many people in our commune can now operate the tractor, some have learned to use the movie projector. Technicians for operating the small power station are being trained.

"Barley blended with sugar--it smells good and tastes sweet"--this is how the emancipated serfs describe their life. Last year, everyone in the commune was allotted an average of 573 catties of food grain, 12 catties of butter, one goat for its meat, 4 catties and 4 liang of wool, 3 catties and 2 liang of cream, and some cash. Over 70 percent of the 216 households of commune members in the whole commune now have grain in reserve, and 80 percent have bank deposits. Production develops and the population also grows. The population of the whole commune has increased to 890 as compared with 669 during the period of the democratic reform, representing an increase of 33 percent. Since the democratic reform, 80 households of emancipated serfs have moved into new houses. Before the democratic reform, the serfs practically had no right to education. At present, 73 percent of the commune members at the age of 16 and above can read. Since 1959, our hsiang has run a privately-operated primary school and political and cultural evening schools. By now, there are four primary schools operated by the commune or brigade, accommodating over 90 percent of the school-aged children. Many young people are attending middle school. This year, we have selected a young man among the emancipated serfs and sent him to a university in the hinterland of the mother country. In the old society, when a serf contracted a minor disease, he had to endure it; if he was taken seriously ill, he had to lie in bed without medical treatment. Now, the commune has barefoot doctors and a health clinic, with the commune members enjoying free state medical service.

The emancipated serfs have stood up and become masters of the country. Since the democratic reform, 27 advanced elements have been admitted into the Chinese Communist Party and 32 advanced youths have also been

admitted into the Communist Youth League. All cadres at the commune and brigade levels are former serfs, of whom 43 percent are women. Under the unified leadership of the commune's Party branch, the commune revolutionary committee, the poor and lower-middle peasants' association, the women's association, the Communist Youth League and other mass bodies have played their role fully. Firmly bearing in mind Chairman Mao's teaching "heighten vigilance, defend the motherland," our militia company combines manual labor with military training. The militiamen are able to write and fight. They put up army-civilian joint defense with the PLA's border defense unit, standing sentry in defense of the borders of the motherland. All emancipated serfs are high in spirit and firm in determination. Warmly cherishing the motherland and showing concern for the collective is a common practice among them. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, we have set up a spare-time Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda team, a movie projector group, a class education exhibition center and a rural broadcasting network. Emancipated culturally, the former serfs are using the socialist ideology and culture to firmly occupy the rural positions.

A comparison between past and present shows that the new society and the old are two different worlds! A new folk song sung by the people of Liehmai goes like this: "Chairman Mao's guiding light illuminates Liehmai. The emancipated serfs laugh to their hearts' content. They advance along the revolutionary line. Snow thaws and fresh flowers blossom." All this is true. These changes have taken place under Chairman Mao's wise leadership. Without Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, Liehmai would not have been what it is today. Chairman Mao's benefaction is as high as the sky and as deep as the sea. Our class affection for Chairman Mao is beyond description and is immeasurable.

Chairman Mao says: "The philosophy of the Communist Party is the philosophy of struggle." After the democratic reform, particularly after the great cultural revolution we have firmly followed the socialist road and perseveringly carried out the mass movement of "in agriculture, learn from Tachai" under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This is the basic reason why Liehmai has been able to improve its outlook so quickly. This road has not been smooth. Every step we take is full of violent class struggle and two-line struggle.

In Liehmai, there were manorial and rich elements, remnants of the Kuomintang reactionaries, devotees to the mother of renegade, bandit ringleader Dalai and bad elements who had wormed their way into the hsiang government. They collaborated with one another in doing evil and dreamed of changing the regime and staging a comeback. During the upsurge of the great cultural revolution, when we held high the "golden lamp" in actively preparing for setting up a people's commune, the class enemies were scared, and a bad element who had wormed his way into the hsiang government incited people everywhere and spread the rumor that "when the commune is set up, the barley won't be sweet and the wine will no longer be so good as it is now." He took advantage of his position and authority to threaten the masses, saying: "Some conditions are necessary for running the commune. Each household will have to offer a horse and everyone to contribute 550 silver dollars. Can we afford this?"

In this violent struggle, the Party branch led the poor and lower middle peasants to take Chairman Mao's instruction "the people's communes are fine" as a sharp weapon to launch a frontal struggle against the class enemies. The poor and lower-middle peasants indicated unanimously "Even if the mountains are higher, they cannot keep out the sunshine; even if the road is more dangerous, we won't waver in our determination to set up the commune. We won't turn back from the socialist road even when a storm blows!" The violent struggle completely showed this bad element's reactionary features. The masses drove him out of the hsiang government. The 161 households of poor and lower-middle peasants and the 7 households of middle peasants who faced difficulties in production were the first group to join the commune. Liehmai people's commune was triumphantly born amid the storm on October 1, 1967.

The commune was progressing, and the struggle went on. The reactionary forces which secretly aimed at undermining the commune changed their tactics and formed a group. Saying "we'll reap a good autumn harvest," they wanted to start a "production race" with us. The poor and lower-middle peasants conscientiously studied time and again Chairman Mao's introductory notes to the two articles "Who Says a Chicken Feather Can't Fly Up to Heaven?" and "The Party Secretary Takes the Lead and All the Party Members Help Run the Cooperatives." "An important aspect of the struggle between the two roads in China's countryside is the peaceful competition between the poor peasants and the lower-middle peasants on the one hand and the well-to-do middle peasants on the other." Chairman Mao's instruction pointed out once again the orientation to us, making us see clearly that this was not only an economic but also a political battle. In this "competition," the poor and lower-middle peasants put politics in command and fought against hardships. When there were not enough animals for carrying manure, they carried loads of manure on their backs. When there were not enough draft cattle for plowing the land, they tilled the land with rakes. During the period of field care, farm jobs were busy. To save time spent on going to and fro from the fields, many women commune members put up tents beside the fields and ate and lived there. The "pauper's spirit" generated endless power. After two years' arduous struggles, we reaped rich crops in succession. The well-to-do middle peasants who had followed the reactionary forces for some time now realized that "in matching strength of wings with the eagle, the chicken can only fall down to the ground, either injured or killed." They all went over to the poor and lower-middle peasants. In 1969, we established the people's commune.

After the establishment of the people's commune, we perseveringly carried out the mass movement of "in agriculture, learn from Tachai." Acting on Chairman Mao's teaching "Transform China in the way the Foolish Old Man removed the mountains," we were resolved to completely change the outlook of Liehmai by grasping revolution and promoting production. In the past few years, in the light of the actual conditions marked by insufficient farmland and water and low output in Liehmai, we undertook a few major projects of farmland and water conservancy capital construction, and worked vigorously, arduously and through to the end. In the exceedingly cold winter when water turned into ice, the poor and lower-middle peasants climbed up to the Sangch'inpa rising 4,200 meters above sea level to put the age-old wasteland to the plow.

After more than a year of work, they opened up 760 k'e of land, increasing farm acreage by 49 percent. To solve the problem of water shortage, the cadres and masses climbed steep cliffs and worked ceaselessly by means of rock drills and indigenous dynamite to dig at the hills. After a few years of hard work, they built eight canals meandering the hills and totalling 31 li in length, thereby expanding the irrigated acreage by 810 k'e. The soil on vast areas of the land was lean. The masses went to the deserted estates of the feudal manorial lords "to dig up earth by three feet" and used the earth to thicken the surface layer of sterile areas. As some areas were uneven and could not retain water, soil and manure, the masses built terraced fields and opened up fields of uniform size. In the past few years, the soil of more than 800 k'e of land has been improved, more than 270 k'e of terraced fields have been built, and uniform plots of farmland totalling 100 k'e and more in area have been cultivated. In the struggle against nature, all Party members and cadres are perseveringly fighting in the forefront, enduring great hardships and leading the masses to advance.

Liehmai's natural conditions are rather poor. All its farmland lies at 3,800 meters above sea level, and one-third of it lies at 4,200 meters or more above sea level, where the frost free period lasts for only 100 days or so. In order to grope for the laws of high and stable yields in the frigid zone and to raise the level of agricultural production by a big margin, we have since the turn of last year formed a scientific farming group to grow high-yield and stable-yield fields, seed plots and experimental fields and to carry out scientific experiments.

Practical experience tells us: The course of fighting against the elements is also a course of class struggle and two-line struggle. When we fought against the cold and tried to break the frozen earth to cultivate the land at Sangch'inpa, the class enemies said absurdly that that place was "the horse stable of the Buddha," "the good land where the sun and the moon shine directly," and "it should not be put to the plow because gods would be offended and endless calamities would befall." When we met difficulties in building the Mola Canal, they alleged maliciously: "Are you learning every day from the Foolish Old Man? Better ask the Foolish Old Man to transform this land!" They even derided our spirit of self-reliance as "taking a rope to tie a splitting hill." The poor and lower-middle peasants who uphold materialism and oppose idealism believe neither in god nor in ghosts, fear neither heaven nor earth, but persevere in fighting against the class enemies and against nature with firm determination. They replied heroically: "The people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought are Foolish Old Men of the present." "We just want to tie the hill when it splits." "The poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai applied Mao Tsetung Thought in transforming seven gullies, eight ridges and one slope. So long as we learn from Tachai, we definitely can succeed in reclaiming the wasteland and building canals!"

In battling against nature, we may also meet the interference of some conservative ideas among the people. During the intense fight for reclaiming wasteland, building canals, terraced fields and the power station, some people said: "There is little arable land, and food grain is not enough. We should ask the state for help." Others held that "we are going too fast"

and hoped that work would be done "slowly." In handling these problems, we constantly conducted education by putting Mao Tsetung Thought in command. Through study, all came to understand that since the democratic reform, the State has given us great help in kind. This doubtless has been very essential to us in building a socialist new countryside. But, it is wrong to wait for or depend on help. Only by relying on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance shall we have inexhaustible strength. With regard to those who feared hardship and fatigue, we adopted the method of recounting past sufferings, thinking about the present happiness and comparing the past conditions with those of the present, thereby helping them raise their consciousness in fighting against hardship. The poor and lower-middle peasants said rightly: "Work is struggle. If we want to live comfortably, we cannot learn from Tachai and change our outlook. Building a socialist new countryside will give us the greatest happiness. Who else but us will make the effort?" With thinking unified, all worked with double efforts and contributed their share to building a socialist new countryside.

We deeply feel that whether in carrying out class struggle and the two-line struggle or in fighting against and transforming nature, we must do so by relying on the masses of the people. Only by perseveringly educating the masses in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and firmly grasping the Party's basic line as Tachai brigade does can we continue to win victories. In 1963, a mass movement of studying Chairman Mao's works started soon after the Party organization was established in our hsiang, and for the past decade and more, the cadres and masses have taken Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the beacon light. They have persevered in studying and applying it in the course of struggle, doing so even during the very busy farm seasons. During the great cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we have taken Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as a sharp weapon to roundly criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and the counter-revolutionary crimes of the Dalai Lama traitorous clique. The mass movement to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has progressed and the enthusiasm of the cadres and masses for practicing socialism has surged to unprecedented height. This year, with the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius broadening and deepening in a sustained manner, we have formed a contingent of 22 theorists among poor and lower-middle peasants. They include a 60-year-old poor peasant and a 15-year-old girl. Sweeping away difficulties in their path, they have made strenuous efforts to study "Communist Manifesto", "Critique of the Gotha Program", "The State and Revolution", "On Contradiction", "On Practice" and other works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao. They are leading the broad masses to scale the peak of theory together. "Once Mao Tsetung Thought takes root in their minds, the people will change, and they will change the land." The poor and lower-middle peasants are armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, and all positions in Liehmai are occupied with Mao Tsetung Thought--this is the basic guarantee for us to go from one victory to another.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." The changes and achievements of Liehmai since the democratic reform and particularly since the great cultural revolution have resulted from a firm implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. While Lin Piao wanted to restore the old order, we must march ahead. We are determined to advance bravely along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and unite together to win still greater victories.

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Profound Changes in China's Educational Field

by

Chu Yen (朱研)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, Oct. 1, 1974)

Under the excellent situation of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius developing in a widespread, penetrating and sustained manner, we jubilantly celebrate the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic. The educational front is permeated with a revolutionary scene of unity for victory, vigor and vitality.

After 25 years of struggle, especially after the great proletarian cultural revolution, the features of our country's educational cause, compared with that of old China, have undergone world-shaking changes.

In the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China, education was extremely backward. Imperialism, the landlord class and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie practiced the most reactionary and darkest cultural despotism. Over 80 percent of the people across the whole country were illiterate. The laboring people were deprived of the right to education. Now, the working class and laboring people of our country have stood up politically, economically and culturally. They not only enjoy priority in education but also control the educational cause in their hands. They are carrying out a fundamental reform in education according to the features of the proletariat in order to suit the socialist economic foundation and to make education a tool of the proletarian dictatorship. The number of university, middle and primary school students has now exceeded one-fifth of the total population. Compared with the peak figures before liberation, the number of primary school students has increased five times and that of middle school students 23 times. Over 90 percent of the nation's school-aged children are in school. Especially remarkable have been the changes in the rural areas, mountain regions, border areas and areas of minority nationalities. Some minority nationalities did not have even a written language before the liberation; now they have not only primary and middle schools but also university students. Popular political and cultural education is developing more vigorously. As far back as 1940, the great leader Chairman Mao issued a solemn call: "Turn an ignorant and backward China ruled by old culture into a civilized and advanced China ruled by new culture." Today, this great objective is becoming reality.

The victory in the educational revolution has been won through violent struggle between the two classes and two lines. In the past 25 years we have travelled a road with twists and turns.

Shortly after the founding of New China, Chairman Mao directed us to "carry out systematically and prudently the reform work in the old school education and in the old social-cultural services and win over all patriotic intellectuals to serve the people." Following the development of the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao again issued a series of directives, pointing out, "Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives

an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a laborer with both socialist consciousness and culture." He further formulated a whole set of guideline and policies for the proletarian educational revolution. Under the illumination of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the broad masses of CCP members, CYL members and revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals on the educational front had made every effort and waged every struggle, and some progress was also achieved in the field of education. Especially in 1958, the educational revolution whipped up under Chairman Mao's call, "Education must serve proletarian politics and be integrated with productive labor," forcefully struck at the old educational system. However, not until the great cultural revolution was Chairman Mao's proletarian line on education basically implemented; this was because Liu Shao-ch'i and company had usurped the leadership over the educational position and frantically pushed the revisionist educational line, and the vast masses of revolutionary teachers and students and staff members were always repressed and hamstrung in their effort to reform education.

The great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao smashed the bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-ch'i and crushed the bourgeois dictatorship, namely, dictatorship by the counter-revolutionary revisionist line, in the educational field. In conformity with Chairman Mao's strategic plan, a mighty army of industrial workers and its most reliable ally--the poor and lower-middle peasants--moved into the school and shattered the rule of school by the bourgeois intellectuals, creating a new situation unprecedented in history, one where the worker-peasant laboring masses personally took part in leading, managing and transforming schools. Thereafter, the proletariat seized the leadership of education, and a struggle began to radically revolutionize education. Millions of youths graduated from junior and senior middle schools and universities have gone to mountainous and rural areas. Universities selected their students from among workers and peasants with practical experience who, after several years of study, would again return to production practice. Such traditional concepts as "one who excels in study becomes an official" and "one goes to school in order to become an official" were completely smashed. In line with the "May 7 directive," schools at various levels operated on an open-door basis and set up their own factories and farms, initially changing the old educational system under which one confined oneself to a classroom from primary school to university without seeing how workers labored on the bench and peasants tilled the land. Mounting the rostrum, workers, peasants and soldiers have become the backbone force of the teachers ranks, where transformation and building have been stepped up thereby. Close integration between teachers and students and the workers, peasants and soldiers and close combination between the school and the practice of the three major revolutionary movements have exerted a positive effect on socialist revolution and socialist construction. Reforms in respect to the schooling system, syllabuses, textbooks, teaching methods and other educational regulations have been seriously and extensively tried out. The proletarian educational system is being gradually established and consolidated.

The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius further deepens the development of our educational revolution on the basis of the victories scored since the great cultural revolution. Through criticizing Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and criticizing his and Confucius' reactionary program of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and in light of the reality on the educational front, we have launched a counter-attack against capitalist-restoration reactionary thoughts and eliminated the manifestation and influence of the revisionist educational line. Having raised their understanding of the Party's basic line, the broad masses have further recognized that revisionism remains the main danger at present, and so they have strengthened their consciousness of persisting in the revolution and opposing restoration and persisting in progress and opposing regression. After repeated struggles, a series of reforms and new socialist things on the educational front since the great cultural revolution have been consolidated and developed in most of the units. New progress has been made in the educational revolution. The educational front so deeply influenced by the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius has been turned into an important front for a critique of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Identifying themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, the main force in the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the vast masses of revolutionary teachers and students have plunged into the battle with utmost political zeal and have made their contributions. From among middle and primary school students have emerged a large number of revolutionary little vanguards daring to criticize Confucius and daring to go against the tide. In the university worker-peasant-soldier students, shattering superstitions and pushing ahead in the face of difficulties, have become a new force on the ideological front. The broad masses of revolutionary teachers are studying Marxism and transforming their world outlook. Under the Party's education, some old teachers who used to worship Confucius have also turned around and taken an active part in the battle, striving to catch up with the millions upon millions of workers, peasants and soldiers. Against the pro-Confucian and anti-Legalist thoughts and idealist, metaphysical ideologies deeply rooted in various branches of study revolutionary mass criticism is being penetratingly launched. History distorted by the reactionary ruling classes and the followers of the Confucian school is now subject to a fresh scientific study under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Teaching materials of universities and middle and primary schools are being further revised. Reactionary educational ideas preached by Confucius, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao are being seriously liquidated from the aspects of the political line, ideological foundation and historical origin. This is a great march in the fields of philosophy, history, education, literature, arts, and jurisprudence occupied by Marxism.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." These victories in the educational revolution signify the triumph of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line over Liu Shao-ch'i's and Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line; they are victories won by hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers in the whole country as well as by the broad masses on the educational front through united struggle.

The changes in the field of education have been profound, but they represent only the beginning. To completely dominate the educational front with Marxism and transform it thoroughly, the efforts of one or two generations will not be enough. Persistent struggle of several generations is required. At a time when we are celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic, to sum up our victories and the positive and negative experiences of the struggle between the two lines in the educational field will enable us to more consciously usher in new struggles and win still greater victories in the educational revolution.

A basic experience in deepening the educational revolution is to hold a firm grip of the Party's basic line and to untiringly criticize revisionism and the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes. Education, belonging to the superstructure, has a clearcut class character. In "Communist Manifesto" Marx and Engels had already proposed to rid education of the influence of the exploiting class. Lenin further stressed this theme, saying that in respect to national education, it was essential to "carry through to the end the cause initiated by the 1917 October Revolution and turn the school as an instrument of class rule by the bourgeoisie into an instrument for destroying such rule and completely eliminating social and class distinctions. The school should become a tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat." Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat has taught us to attach major importance to the class struggle in the superstructure and to exercise overall dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including the educational sphere. 25 years of experience shows that after the proletariat's seizure of state power, education is still an important battlefield for the life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie attempts to use the traditional forces created through its prolonged monopoly of education to turn the educational field into a hotbed for restoration activities. On the other hand, the proletariat should turn this field into a front post of struggle against capitalist restoration. The fact that the great proletarian cultural revolution began its assault in the field of culture and education points to the prominent bearing of the struggle in this field on the entire situation of class struggle, showing the extreme importance of the educational revolution to the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship. Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and company energetically tried to obliterate the class nature of education, declaring that "the school is a place for imparting knowledge" and advocating "intellectual education first" and "vocational work in command." Their aim was to cover up their conspiracy of restoring capitalism in the field of education. The reason why some comrades of ours have been influenced by the revisionist educational line and lost their bearings is that they have forgotten the Party's basic line and departed from the Marxist stand on this basic question--the class character of education. We must bear firmly in mind the historical experience and lessons, remain sober-minded, clearly recognize the situation of class struggle and deeply develop the educational revolution on the plane of the Party's basic line, on the plane of the revolution in the superstructure and on the plane of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship.

At present, we must push the educational revolution through successful criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is a political and ideological struggle in the superstructure in which Marxism prevails over revisionism and the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius are an important ideological source of the revisionist line on education. To thoroughly eliminate the poisonous influence of the revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius politically and ideologically in the field of education is a long-term, arduous task. Not only is the critique of Lin Piao and Confucius a powerful propellant of the educational revolution, but the many fighting tasks it has brought up are important to the educational revolution. A host of facts show that a unit which has done well in the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is energetic in the educational revolution, and that a unit which has failed to move the educational revolution ahead has invariably failed in the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. It is a wrong idea to set criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius against the educational revolution. In grasping the educational revolution, a fundamental thing to do is to grasp class struggle, to take class struggle as the main course and to put the transformation of students' thinking first. If we depart from the Party's basic line and fail to do well in the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the educational revolution will surely deviate.

"The proletarian revolution in education must be led by the working class and have the participation of the worker masses before it can succeed." This is a basic guarantee for carrying the proletarian educational revolution through to the end. On gaining political power, a class, in order to consolidate its own dictatorship, has invariably to take firm control of education. One of the aims of Confucius in killing Shao Cheng Mao was to uphold the monopoly of education by the declining slave-owning class. In "burning the books and burying Confucian scholars alive" and adopting the policy of "taking officers as teachers" and "teaching laws," Ch'in Shih Huang wanted to place education in the hands of the newly emerging landlord class. Since in past revolutions which replaced one exploiting class with another the struggle over the leadership of education was already so acute, now in the proletarian revolution which aims at eliminating all exploiting classes and converting education as a tool of exploiting-class dictatorship in the past thousands of years into one of proletarian dictatorship, the struggle over the leadership of education is surely far more violent indeed. Events of the past 25 years have fully testified to this. In changing schools in conformity with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we must wholeheartedly rely on the working class and bring about the dominance of the proletarian forces. Without the direct participation of the workers, peasants and soldiers, there would have been no real proletarian education. Where the leadership of the working class has been weakened, reversals will certainly appear in the educational revolution. The experience of the repeated trials of strength between the two classes on the educational front shows that the strength of the proletariat in this field is still relatively weak. For the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants to move into the school and for the worker-peasant-soldier students to consciously take up the task of reforming education and reforming schools has been an important strategic measure, whose far-reaching

significance has been clearly demonstrated by the practice of recent years. The leadership of the working class is realized through its vanguard--the Communist Party. Of the seven sectors--industry, agriculture, commerce, education, the army, the government and the Party--it is the Party which exercises overall leadership. The school must be placed under the leadership of the Party, and the fighting orders of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee must be firmly executed. Only in this way can we realize unity within the Party and unity among the broad masses of teachers, students and staff members, mobilize all positive factors to the maximum, and firmly carry out the task of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship in every school.

Correctly enforcing the Party's policy toward intellectuals and organizing a mighty revolutionary army--this is another important experience in properly handling the educational revolution. Chairman Mao has taught us: "In carrying out the proletarian educational revolution, it is necessary to rely on the broad masses of revolutionary students, revolutionary teachers and revolutionary staff workers in the school, to rely on the activists among them, that is, the proletarian revolutionaries determined to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end." In the school, unity among students, teachers, workers, cadres, members of the worker propaganda teams and of the poor peasants management committee and people of various departments concerned--unity based on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line--is essential to properly handling the educational revolution. The more intellectuals serving socialism are united, the better. The counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao hindered the thought transformation of intellectuals and undermined the unity between workers and peasants. Through the great cultural revolution and the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, most intellectuals have been educated in the violent storms of class struggle and line struggle; their political attitude and state of mind are now changing. We must encourage them to get deeply involved in the practice of the three major revolutionary movements, continue to transform themselves, gradually cast away the bourgeois world outlook and foster the proletarian, communist world outlook in order to fully adapt to the needs of the new situation and unite more properly with the workers and peasants. Unity is strengthened in struggle, and victory is won through unity. To continuously consolidate and develop revolutionary unity under the leadership of the working class, we must strictly distinguish between and correctly handle two different types of contradictions. All problems of an ideological nature among the people must be solved by means of persuasion and education. On the premise of the general orientation, differences of view on specific issues should be allowed to be discussed in order to create a lively and dynamic political situation. Even on problems involving contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, distinctions must be clearly drawn in order to isolate and hit at a handful of diehards to the maximum.

To reform the old educational system and to revise the old teaching policies and methods is an important task of the proletarian educational revolution, which must be accomplished by continuous efforts. Reversals have appears in this respect over the last 25 years. Liu Shao-ch'i and company openly called for keeping the educational system "basically intact as before." Lin Piao and company also did the same. Every time a major reform was carried out, they always seized every opportunity to launch a counter-attack in an attempt to restore the

old things. In summing up the experience of struggle, we must doggedly adhere to the direction of taking class struggle as the main course in training successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. We must persist in taking academic study as the main effort while learning other things at the same time in following the "May 7 directive" road. We must persist in selecting students from among workers, peasants and soldiers with practical experience, in linking theory and practice and in organizing the teaching processes according to the Marxist concept of knowledge. We must adhere to the idea of reform, continuously reform the content and method of teaching, and energetically foster and develop revolutionary new things. To thoroughly reform the old educational system, we must not let any obstacle deter us and must "have patience, perseverence, determination and decisiveness, be skillful in making repeated experiments and repeated improvements, and refuse to give up until our goal is achieved." We must further get rid of superstitions, emancipate our minds, break down the old conventions, keep to reform, respect the pioneering spirit of the masses, and encourage bold practice and experimentation. In reforming the original school administration and teaching systems, much remains to be done. For instance, a university should organize teaching in conjunction with the fighting tasks of the current class struggle and typical projects and typical products in production and scientific research, and sponsor various kinds of short-term training classes, advanced classes and correspondence courses for the workers, peasants and soldiers. A middle school should meet the needs of educated youth sent to mountain and rural areas and of industrial and agricultural production by reforming the academic system and curricula and setting up specialized courses and specialized training classes. In the cities middle schools should set up branches in the suburbs. In the countryside public-run primary schools should be run by the brigades. And so and so forth. We must warmly and carefully foster these things and help them grow healthily. Meanwhile, in transforming the old educational system, we must not take the existing schools as the only focal point. To make intellectuals out of the laboring people and make laborers out of intellectuals and to create a mighty new force of working-class intellectuals, it won't do to rely on the educational departments alone in running schools. It is necessary to energetically develop factory-run "July 21" workers universities, communist labor university, "May 7" universities or "May 7" schools, political evening schools for peasants, etc. Only thus can we meet the needs of socialist revolution and construction, develop China's educational cause with greater, quicker, better and more economical results, and create a brand new general educational system in an overall manner.

The educational revolution is a profound social revolution calling for maximum efforts of the whole Party. Marxism-Leninism invariably takes the reform of education as an important aspect of changing society. Chairman Mao's instructions including the "May 7 directive" have produced a grand design for us to change society and reform education. A successful educational revolution will be of tremendous significance in preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism. All trades and occupations--including industry, agriculture, commerce, education and military affairs--should, under the centralized leadership of the Party, study and practice the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on the educational revolution, study Chairman Mao's directives on the educational revolution, and understand

the past and present of the struggle between two lines on China's educational front. They should all be concerned about, support, supervise and participate in the educational revolution. When this is done, we shall surely carry through the proletarian educational revolution to the end.

"We are good not only at destroying the old world, but also in building the new." If we take a look at the history of education of mankind, we will see that the feudal class had practiced education for thousands of years and the bourgeoisie for hundreds of years. Today, like their social and ideological systems, the educational system of imperialism and social-imperialism is like the sun setting over the western hill, breathing its last! But taking a look at the lively and dynamic revolutionary scene that has appeared after a few years of the proletarian educational revolution fills us with immense pride. At the same time, we also feel deeply that the victories that have been won mark only the "first step in a long march of ten thousand li." A lot of tough work still lies ahead. New-born things will have to be continuously improved in practice. There are still shortcomings in our work that must be overcome. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and under the guidance of his proletarian revolutionary line, the workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, PLA fighters and the broad masses of students, teachers and cadres fighting bravely on the educational front have united together to fight with redoubled efforts and write newer and more beautiful chapters in the history of proletarian education!

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The Critique of Lin Piao and Confucius and the Progress of Intellectuals

by

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The great movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is now developing flourishingly throughout the country. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, "read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism," the people of the whole country are using the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to sum up the historical experience of the Confucian-Legalist struggle and that of class struggle as a whole so as to enable the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius to develop in a widespread, deep-going and sustained manner. They have achieved excellent results. We revolutionary intellectuals and academic workers should, on the basis of the initial achievements gained, continue to forge ahead and learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers--the main force of the movement. We should unceasingly temper, transform and improve ourselves while transforming our world outlook in the course of struggle.

The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is a political and ideological struggle in the superstructure in which Marxism will prevail over revisionism and the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. There are deep class and historical reasons why the criticism of Lin Piao must be accompanied by that of Confucius and the criticism of the bourgeoisie and revisionism by that of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. As modern China sank into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, the bourgeoisie was extremely weak without a complete and independent ideological system of its own. The big bourgeoisie had to seek its ideological weapon with which to safeguard its own vested interests, so apart from propagating the imperialist, slavish ideology, it vigorously trumpeted the feudal revivalist ideas of worshipping Confucius and reading the classics. Even down to this day, the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which is prolonging its life only temporarily in Taiwan, is still carrying out on a big scale the activities of offering sacrifice to Confucius and venerating Confucianism in a futile attempt to maintain its tottering counter-revolutionary rule with the help of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. The revisionists vainly hope to restore capitalism and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, and the reactionary Confucianism has precisely met their reactionary political needs. So, all of them--from the Soviet revisionist renegade clique to the chieftains of the opportunist line within our Party--have revered Confucianism and opposed Legalism, and have gone all out to propagate the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Lin Piao, this conspirator, careerist and double-dealer, inherited the mantle of past reactionaries and exerted even greater efforts to extol Confucius and attack the Legalists, using the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as the theoretical basis of his counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Therefore, when fighting against the revisionist line, we must also scathingly criticize the

doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and expose the reactionary role of the Confucian ideology in historical and current struggles before we can recognize more clearly the ultra-Right essence of the revisionist line. This has a tremendous significance to the opposition to and prevention of revisionism as well as to the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship.

Over the ages reactionaries, who worshipped Confucianism and opposed Legalism, "used Confucius' stuff as religious dogma and forced the people to believe in it." This accounted for the deepseated pernicious influence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Compiled from reactionary sermons by the Confucians, the "Three-Character Classics," "Thousand-Character Essay," "Girls Classics," "Children's Poetry" and others were widely popularized in society. Sayings like "man is born good," "lean to neither side and follow the middle course" and "the profession of the scholar is the highest calling of all" and such rules as "three obediences" and "four virtues" were all used by the reactionary rulers to enslave the people and poison their thinking. The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius have been for more than 2,000 years spiritual shackles binding the laboring people, and even down to this day they are still playing the role of hindering and disrupting the socialist revolution. For every step it takes in the sphere of the superstructure, the proletariat will invariably face the stubborn resistance of these old ideas and traditions. Without thoroughly criticizing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, our effort to consolidate and strengthen the economic base of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat will be hamstrung. The Communist Manifesto points out: "The communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas." In our country, China, the most reactionary traditional ideas are the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. We must completely crush these spiritual shackles--the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius--if we are to persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Academic and ideological work is an important aspect of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the domain of the superstructure. It is vitally necessary to rid academic and ideological work of the pernicious influence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. It goes without saying that considerable influence was exerted in the academic circles by the imperialist and semi-feudal culture before the liberation. Yet in the 17 years since the liberation, as Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line was again in the dominating position in cultural and educational work, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius were not thoroughly criticized and eliminated and the academic and ideological work was filled with the viruses of reactionary Confucian ideology and ideas of honoring Confucianism and opposing Legalism. This to a serious extent obstructed the proletariat from exercising overall dictatorship in the superstructure, including the various spheres of culture. With earth-shaking changes wrought by the great proletarian cultural revolution in the academic and ideological work, the working class has mounted the

political stage of struggle, criticism and transformation in the superstructure. On the cultural and educational front Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line has replaced the revisionist line as the determinant. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has further smashed the many "prohibitions and taboos" in the academic circles and paved the way for the sturdy growth of the newborn things of socialism. The workers, peasants and soldiers mount the rostrum to talk about the history of the Confucian-Legalist struggle; together with professional theorists, they are thoroughly criticizing the Confucians and correctly appraising the Legalists. This forms a sharp contrast with the many honor-Confucius conferences of the past, for instance, the ludicrous meeting to offer sacrifice to Confucius held in 1962. This is also a sharp critique of these conferences. Today, we academic workers are really fortunate in having the opportunity to take part in this great movement to thoroughly criticize Confucianism. There is still lots of work for us to do in the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, and we must redouble our efforts and actively plunge into the struggle to wage a valiant fight for the further elimination of the pernicious influence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as well as for the propagation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought.

We must fully recognize the reactionary nature of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and their reactionary role in history; in particular, in light of the current class struggle at home and abroad, we must recognize the danger they pose to China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. Only thus can we more deeply comprehend the major significance of the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. Instead of looking at the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius from the "purely academic" viewpoint, we will see it as a political and ideological struggle closely related to the current struggle. At the same time, we should and must take the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius as the core in organizing and propelling work in all fields including scientific research and teaching. In this way, we will encourage the educational revolution and the reform of various branches of learning, and we will not fail to properly adjust the relationship between criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and other tasks.

Marxism-Leninism is a sharp weapon for the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius as well as a basic guarantee of victory. We must study it painstakingly. In order to devastatingly criticize the reactionary Confucian ideology and to study and sum up the historical experiences of the Confucian-Legalist struggle and all class struggles, we must of course have detailed materials so as to have the roots and the basis. However, it still won't do to be satisfied with adequate materials alone, and the more important thing is to analyze them with the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method. Chairman Mao has taught us: "When we go to a unit to find out the facts, we must understand the entire process of the movement--how it began, how it developed later, how it is developing now, what the masses have done, what the leadership has done, what contradictions and struggles have taken place, how these contradictions have changed later, and what development has been made in people's thinking. From all these we should find out the laws." We must firmly remember this teaching,

continue to step up our study of the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism, raise our theoretical level, and overcome the grave shortcoming of viewing events in an isolated way and seeing the trees and not the forest in historical research. Only thus can we derive the laws from the study of the history of the Confucian-Legalist struggle and that of class struggle as a whole, and can we use the past to serve the present and serve socialist revolution and construction.

How to transform our world outlook in struggle is an important problem in building up the ranks of Marxist theorists during the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "The change in world outlook is a basic change, and it cannot be said that most intellectuals have now accomplished this change." "There is still a long way to go before the bourgeois world outlook is completely replaced by the proletarian world outlook." So far as we academic workers are concerned, most of us are intellectuals. Quite a number of us were more deeply poisoned by the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius due to long years of the old education in the old society. Even those comrades who joined the work after the liberation were also poisoned by the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius under the influence of the revisionist line. Today, we academic workers are entrusted with heavy tasks. For us, it is apparently more important to eliminate the pernicious influence of the revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and to transform our bourgeois world outlook. The question lies with our knowledge and determination. We can learn from historical experience. The ranks of intellectuals shouting "down with the Confucian shop" during the period of the May 4 Movement were quickly polarized afterward. Lu Hsün seriously studied Marxism-Leninism and continued to transform his world outlook during the struggle. He was thus able to stand in the van of the criticize-Confucius struggle and finally became a staunch communist fighter. Another section of people neglected their ideological transformation, degenerated gradually and turned passive. We should emulate Lu Hsün's spirit of bravely dissecting and transforming himself and strive to transform the subjective world while transforming the objective world.

A profound critique of the theory of Heavenly mandate and idealist transcendentalism in the course of the struggle for criticizing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius will exert a great effect on the transformation of our world outlook. The Confucian and Legalist schools represent two opposing ideological and political lines. The Confucians respected the will of Heaven while the Legalists opposed it. The Confucians publicized the "high and wise" and geniuses who were "born with knowledge" and looked down upon productive labor and despised the laboring people. But the Legalists held that only study and education could make people "turn from being ignorant to wise." (See "Effects of Confucianism, Hsün Tzu") This was tit for tat. The whole set of reactionary concepts of the Confucian school were passed down from the followers of Confucius, Tzu Ssu and Mencius to Tung Chung-shu, Chu Hsi and others; and now they

have become the basis of the "theory of innate genius" in Lin Piao's anti-Party theoretical program. We academic workers were previously poisoned by these reactionary Confucian concepts. Reflected in the academic viewpoint, there was, for instance, the idealist conception of history that "heroes make history" which prevailed in departments of arts. The history created by the laboring people was described as the family history of kings, emperors, prime ministers and generals. In physics and engineering departments students engrossed themselves in foreign books in search of documentary verification and data but turned a blind eye to the production practice of the Chinese laboring people. A thorough critique of the theory of Heavenly mandate and idealist transcendentalism will serve greatly to reinforce our viewpoint of practice and historical materialism and help us change our stand. To criticize the Confucians for denying the existence of truth in objective things and for advocating the idealist fallacy of "cultivating oneself behind closed doors" will further enable us to recognize, from the aspect of world outlook, the reactionary nature of Liu Shao-ch'i's "Self-Cultivation" and Lin Piao's thesis regarding "outbreak of a revolution in the inner depth of one's soul"; it will enable us to praise more warmly the newborn things of socialism such as operation of schools on an open-door basis and integration of intellectuals with workers and peasants; and it will enable us to temper and transform ourselves in the three major revolutionary movements in order to make more contributions to the socialist revolution and construction.

The doctrine of the mean as part of Confucianism also plays the role of seriously obstructing the advance of intellectuals and must be deeply criticized, so that we may truly master the ideological weapon of Marxism and dare to make revolution and advance. It is not easy to uproot Confucianism, which has poisoned the Chinese people for more than 2,000 years. To make the radical rupture with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, we must uphold the philosophy of struggle, and must never seek compromise or run away from battle. At the same time, we must deal with such a political and ideological struggle seriously and prudently and must not jump to conclusions. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Thoroughgoing materialists have nothing to fear." Within our revolutionary ranks, we must encourage the airing of views, promote the clearcut militant style of Communists, stick to the truth, and correct the mistakes. A friend of mine told me that when he summed up his experience in participating in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, he found that he himself was often subjective and one-sided. Vacillating to the left and right, he at one moment over-estimated the progressive role of the Legalists, and at another one-sidedly stressed their limitations. In discussions, he either advocated reconciliation and became a "trouble shooter" or turned subjective and dogmatic, sticking to his own guns. He said: "The problem is fear: fear of making mistakes, fear of lagging behind, fear of marching ahead of others and fear of losing face in front of young people. Fear is an expression of running away from struggle, the evil consequence of being poisoned by the doctrine of the mean. I must learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers their militant style of seeking truth from facts, and seriously change my mentality." I think this friend has found the

causes from his world outlook. One can really expose the basic problem of world outlook only in struggle; only by seriously transforming one's world outlook can one take part in the struggle more properly.

The Party and the people have earnest expectations for us academic workers. They fully affirm and welcome tiny bits of achievements intellectuals make in transforming their world outlook in the midst of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. We had previously worshipped Confucius, and now we "realize how wrong we were yesterday and how right we are today." We have been even more greatly encouraged to turn around and take an active part in the struggle to criticize Confucius. Even for those who for the time being have not been able to come around ideologically, the Party and the people will still wait for and help them patiently. The laboring people and representatives of the Legalist school in history had done much in the criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, reaching the outstanding level that they could reach in their epochs. However, historical and class limitations prevented them from coming to grips with dialectical and historical materialism and from completely defeating the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. This historical task can only be accomplished by the proletariat armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought. We intellectuals that came from the old society must positively participate in this struggle in the course of which we must submit to the truth, correct our mistakes and keep pace with the times. I believe that people who can cast away their biased views and are motivated by the public interest will surely recognize the far-reaching significance of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, consciously and on their initiative plunge into the struggle and make their own contributions. My understanding of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is still shallow and I am willing to learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers in future struggles, to continue to raise my awareness of the two-line struggle, and forge ahead with the comrades of the academic circles on the basis of mutual encouragement.

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The Affection between the Army and the People Is as Deep as the Sea

- on the modern revolutionary Peking Opera "Hung Yün Kang"

by

Ch'iu Shih (秋实)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, Oct. 1, 1974)

In the old revolutionary base area of the Imeng mountains, as in other old revolutionary base areas throughout the country, each towering mountain ridge bears witness to the exploits of soldiers and civilians who fought the enemy in unity. Each heroic village has its own stories to tell about the army cherishing the people and the people supporting the army. From the rich soil of a life of revolutionary struggle, the modern revolutionary Peking opera "Hung Yün Kang" (红云岗) draws and sums up a typical episode--Aunty Ying nursing a wounded man with her own milk--portraying a brilliant heroic model and writing a moving song in praise of supporting the army and cherishing the people.

The opera takes us back to the time of the raging War of Liberation. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's great strategic thinking, our People's Liberation Army took the initiative and moved its positions in order to win new victories. Platoon leader Fang T'ieh-chün was seriously wounded after victoriously accomplishing his mission to intercept the enemy, and collapsed on Hung Yün Kang. Seriously injured and thirsty, he was in a critical condition. At this crucial juncture, Aunty Ying saved his life by feeding him with her own milk. She carefully tended his wounds and hid him at the risk of her own life. This ordinary working woman in this typical incident reflects the boundless love of the people for the people's army and its deep-rooted class base.

The typical episode of a woman saving a wounded soldier with her own milk is a touching situation with profound meaning. It profoundly depicts the flesh-and-blood relationship between the people and the people's soldiers, who are armed workers and peasants coming from and relying on the people. "The fighters' uniforms were made by the people, and the grain in their bags is the product of the people's sweat. In its long march from victory to victory, the Liberation Army could not have survived for a moment without the people's support." The people not only did everything to support the people's soldiers materially but also gave their army tremendous spiritual strength. The heroic deed of Aunty Ying in saving a wounded soldier with her own milk symbolizes the masses of people nurturing their own army. In essence this means that the people's army grows with the care of the people.

Why do the people "regard their kinsmen, the Liberation Army, as even more important than their own families and their own lives? Why did Aunty Ying save the soldier despite the white terror imposed by the enemy, fearing neither the burning down of her house nor the bayonet?" It is

because this army resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and represented the fundamental interests of the masses of people. "The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and to serve them wholeheartedly." This is the basic difference between our people's army and the armies of all exploiting classes. This is the basic reason why our people's army is loved and supported by the people.

"Hung Yün Kang" deals with relations between the army and the people. It shows the army cherishing the people and the people supporting the army, but its emphasis is on the people supporting the army. This important theme is expressed through the proletarian heroic image of Aunty Ying, who is an artistic representation of the working women in the old revolutionary base areas. In her is concentrated the common experience and struggle of the people in the base areas. The daughter of a poor peasant, she had suffered deeply in the old society. She stood up under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party. The reactionary ruling class killed her parents, while she herself was forced into slavery as repayment for her parents' debt. She lived "a most miserable life under the constant threat of the whip." The 8th Route Army led by Chairman Mao saved her from certain death. Tempered in the acute and complicated class struggle and educated and brought up by the Party, she saw the revolutionary truth and achieved a high degree of consciousness of class struggle. This was why, when she accidentally came across the wounded platoon leader of the People's Liberation Army, Fang T'ieh-chün, she gave no thought to danger but tried to save him. It was an accident that she should come across the wounded soldier, but her efforts to try to save and care for him were conscious efforts stemming from her profound understanding of the revolutionary truth that "in leading the people to make revolution and seek liberation Chairman Mao relies on armed struggle." It was out of her firm class stand of "wholeheartedly turning to the Communist Party."

Aunty Ying is a brilliant representative of the people in the old revolutionary base areas. She had a bitter hatred for the old world and the class enemy, boundless love for the people's army, and a profound understanding of Chairman Mao's strategic thinking. She was profoundly thoughtful and far-sighted, not afraid of losing her life even if she had to go through the thick of fire. The reason why our people's army can take a firm stand under difficult conditions, become ever-victorious, move freely on the battlefields and defeat the enemies according to Chairman Mao's great strategic plan is that it has the support of hundreds of thousands of people like Aunty Ying who genuinely support the revolution. With such heroic people, we can build a true bastion of iron, gain access to human and material resources essential for fighting a people's war, and win the revolutionary war. However, renegade Lin Piao had no faith in the strength of the masses. He said absurdly that during the War of Liberation "the mass foundation is weak." He slandered the laboring people by saying that they "thought about nothing but making money and acquiring oil, salt, sauce, vinegar and firewood." This was a clear exposure of his reactionary idealist world outlook and an indication of his gross betrayal

of Marxism. The outstanding qualities and heroic actions of Aunty Ying forcefully refute Lin Piao's shameless utterances. Not a Party member nor a cadre, she was just an ordinary woman, but her heroic and heartwarming deeds were out of the ordinary and she had lofty ideals, the kind of ideals Lin Piao and his like hated to see nor understood. This determined the fact that Lin Piao and his gang could not have the support of the proletariat and the working people but could only meet with an ignominious end.

To reflect the heroic proletarian image of Aunty Ying "Hung Yün Kang" places her in the midst of the struggle in a specific era. This centers on her ideological characteristic--an ardent love for the people's army led by Chairman Mao--and vividly portrays her with a sensitive artistic approach.

In the third scene--"Rescue the Kinsman"--which shows how Aunty Ying finds the wounded soldier and saves him, the description is meticulous and orderly. The enemy does not appear in this scene, yet on the basis of the script and through excellent artistic performance, the opera portrays this critical moment and turns the scene of Aunty Ying saving the wounded man into one of suspense. While collecting wild plants, she sees blood stains on the plants. Astonished, she follows the trail of blood and discovers the wounded PLA man, who is in a coma, mumbling "water, water." She discovers that his water bottle was empty, so she thinks about getting water from the river. But then she realizes that a wounded man should not drink cold water. Then she thinks about going back to her house to boil water for him. But the house is too far away. Besides, she is afraid of running into enemy patrol. It suddenly hits her that perhaps her own milk can save the wounded soldier, and she decides to try. From blood to water and then to milk, the descriptions are closely interwoven and meticulous, aimed at still better reflecting the depth of the heroic character's thinking. Looking for wild plants, digging them and scraping away the dirt on them--these deft and meticulous movements demonstrate the class qualities of a woman of poor peasant stock who has been leading a miserable life since childhood. Her dancing steps while covering up the traces of blood reflect the militant atmosphere as well as a specific artistic style, fully showing her profound class feelings toward this soldier of the people. As the plot continues to unfold, the class feelings of Aunty Ying toward the people's army are gradually deepened. In order to help Fang T'ieh-chün recover quickly, she kills the only chicken that is laying eggs. On the stove which she uses to prepare simple meals, she carefully cooks chicken soup for her kinsman. The red glow of the fire reflects her warm feelings toward the soldier of the people, and her mind is full of things she would like to tell him. Her solo with the "erh huang" rhythm in adagio vividly shows her deep concern for the soldier of the people. "Add some more firewood from the Meng mountains to build up the stove fire, and a ladle of water from the I River with profound feelings." The "special" chicken soup contains the warm feelings of the people, and the firewood from the Meng mountains and water from the I River signify the hopes of the people. "We hope our kinsman will soon recover and return to the battlefield, marching across the plains and mountains to hunt the wolves." Such is the revolutionary ideal--to "usher in a new China which will flourish forever." All this shows that in order to support the people's soldiers, the masses are willing to make any sacrifices.

Aunty Ying's heroic character is not described in a plain manner, but is reflected in the clash of sharp contradictions. The enemy Tiao Kuei, whom she has to deal with, is a cunning, mean and cruel local villain who knows the area well. It is difficult to hide the wounded soldier in a place with an enemy's spy. But, the greater the obstacle, the more she shows alertness in overcoming such difficulties. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line makes her fearless and selfless, giving her unlimited wisdom and strength. The fourth scene unfolds a confrontation between Aunty Ying and Tiao Kuei. In order to find the wounded PLA soldier, Tiao Kuei raids her house to interrogate her. He tries all kinds of tricks hoping to find a loophole. Aunty Ying, however, has already seen through the enemy's plot. She answers all the questions calmly, giving the enemy no clues. Tiao Kuei, with his counter-revolutionary sense of smell, finds the pot of chicken soup rather unusual. "There is no New Year celebration, and no festival at this time. Why does she cook a pot of chicken soup?" Why did she kill the hen that was laying eggs? He thinks he has found a clue there. However, he does not expect that Aunty Ying would answer him with sarcastic remarks, turning her defensive stand into an offensive one. She says: "Why not? Giving someone something to eat is better than feeding it to the wolves!" Tiao Kuei is outwitted. The characteristics of Aunty Ying, who dares to struggle and is good at this because of her calmness, alertness and ready answers, are fully demonstrated.

After one plot fails, the enemy hopes to find some clues from Cheng Ying-t'ien, Aunty Ying's husband. Cheng is frightened and almost gives in to the enemy's pressure. This would cause problems to Aunty Ying's plan to protect the wounded soldier. Therefore, to win over and educate Cheng becomes part of her overall struggle. Cheng's outlook has been determined by his class stand as a middle peasant. He has a certain degree of awareness of the revolution, a certain feeling toward Chairman Mao, the Party and the PLA, and a certain understanding of the Party's policies. However, there are striking differences between him and his wife. The pair of army boots in the second scene is a measure of the difference in class awareness between husband and wife. "The noble always distinguishes himself from the mean at a moment of danger, while husband and wife may handle things in a different way." As a daughter of a poor peasant having a deep hatred for the old society, Aunty Ying has profound love for the people's army and will make every effort to take care of a wounded soldier. Cheng, though willing to save the life of a wounded soldier, is not totally committed. Under the premise of giving prominence to the struggle between ourselves and the enemy, the opera boldly sharpens the contradiction between the husband and the wife, while fixing the basic tune of Cheng's thought. In the sixth scene--"Devote Heart and Soul to the Party"--Aunty Ying persuades Cheng Ying-t'ien to follow the correct revolutionary path and arouses his class feelings. By so doing, she educates and unites with him, making him an important partner in rescuing a wounded soldier and attacking the enemy. The duet between the husband and the wife in this scene further illuminates her brilliant image.

"How many lives of heroes are sacrificed on the battlefields in exchange for the sweet waters, green hills and blue skies of the liberated areas!" While concentrating on manifesting the profound idea of the people

supporting the army, the opera also portrays a vivid scene of armymen cherishing the people. The image of the heroic PLA platoon leader Fang T'ieh-chün as portrayed in the opera is the embodiment of the profound and boundless feeling of the people's army toward the people. Though wounded in a heroic fight, he tries to catch up with his unit in spite of his pain. While recuperating in the woods, he never forgets his countrymen suffering from the enemy's devastation and earnestly hopes to return to the army to continue fighting and killing the enemy. To lessen the burden on Aunty Ying and the masses, he manages to collect wild plants to feed himself. In scene seven, with the enemy discovering Fang's hideout, the opera reaches its climax. At this crucial moment, Aunty Ying deliberately makes her own child cry so as to attract the attention of the enemy. The ferocious enemy, Tiao Kuei, wants to kill the child. At this moment, Fang boldly comes out and saves the child from the enemy's hands. This scene shows one trying to give shelter to a wounded soldier at the risk of her own child's life while the other considers the people's offspring more important than his own life. The selfless spirit of sacrifice shown by Aunty Ying and Fang toward each other further emphasizes the main theme of the opera--support the army and cherish the people.

"The army and the people are the foundation of victory." The close relationship between the people's army and the people is founded on a profound class base which cannot be destroyed by any force. This great truth has found its strong proof in our history of revolutionary struggles and will find an even stronger proof in our current struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. It is our firm belief that if imperialism, social-imperialism and all reactionaries dare to launch a counter-revolutionary war against us, thousands upon thousands of people like Aunty Ying will boldly come forward and fight shoulder to shoulder with the people's soldiers to completely wipe out the invading enemies.

The modern revolutionary Peking opera "Hung Yün Kang" is adapted from the stage play "The Red Aunty" presented in 1964. During the course of its birth and growth in the past decade, there have been sharp and complicated struggles between the two lines. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and art, the revolutionary literary and art fighters have made constant efforts to refine it on the basis of studying the modern revolutionary theatrical works already published with a view to insuring its perfection and presenting it on the socialist literary and art stage with its new features. This is a new fruit of the revolution in Peking opera. Practical struggles have once again proved that as long as we steadfastly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, dare to struggle and put it into practice, the revolution in proletarian literature and art will continue to win new victories.

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Study the Historical Experience of the Struggle between the Confucian and Legalist Schools

by

Liang Hsiao (梁效)

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With the gradual deepening of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals in our country, complying with Chairman Mao's teaching "make the past serve the present," are extensively studying the history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and of class struggle as a whole.

It is the first time in the history of the international communist movement that the proletariat that has seized political power is mobilizing the masses on such a broad scale to study and sum up the historical experience of class struggle. This is of great immediate significance and far-reaching historical importance.

In talking about the historic mission of the proletariat in preventing capitalist restoration after its seizure of political power, Lenin pointed out: "We do not know whether or not a temporary reactionary period or a period of opposition to revolutionary victory will follow our victory. It is not impossible. Therefore, we must dig 'three rows of trenches' to prevent such a possibility after our victory." ("On Revision of the Party Program") To successfully accomplish the historic mission of proletarian dictatorship and to win victory in protracted and complex class struggle, the proletariat must not only be good at gaining experience in its practical struggle but also must study class struggle and the struggle between the two lines in history, study the struggle between revolution and reaction and between restoration and opposition to restoration in periods of great social changes, and apply the Marxist method to critically sum up such struggles in order to draw on their experience and lessons.

The development of Chinese history has its own characteristics. Living in semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, the Chinese bourgeoisie was very weak economically and politically. Thus, the task of leading the bourgeois democratic revolution historically fell on the shoulders of the proletariat. Under the leadership of the CCP headed by Chairman Mao, the Chinese people thoroughly accomplished the bourgeois democratic revolution and made the revolution enter its socialist period, in which the dictatorship of the proletariat was established. In addition to the revolution led by the proletariat, there was actually only one social change of complete significance--the replacement of the dictatorship of one class by another--in Chinese history and that was the substitution of the feudal system for the slave system. It was during that social change that the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools over the two lines took place. In feudal society, there always existed the struggle between worshipping Confucianism and opposing Legalism and between worshipping Legalism and opposing Confucianism. This struggle has made its influence felt even down to this

day. All enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat regard the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as a means of restoring capitalism in China. The chieftains of the various opportunist lines in the Party have worshipped Confucianism and opposed the Legalist school. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao flagrantly described Confucius and Mencius as "ancient sages" and Marx and Lenin as "modern sages" and did his utmost to propagate that the principles they had advocated were the same. To uphold Marxism and oppose revisionism, we must throughly criticize such a reactionary view as well as the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius.

In the period in which the slave system was replaced by the feudal system in our country, the Legalists,as political and ideological representatives of the rising landlord class, waged a protracted, acute struggle against the declining slave-owning class and its political and ideological representatives, the Confucians, in order to seize and consolidate political power. More than 130 years elapsed from Shang Yang's reform to the unification of China by Ch'in Shih Huang; or if counted from the introduction of the "initial land tax" in the state of Lu, more than 370 years would have passed. In this period of several centuries, the rising landlord class had seized and then lost political power several times. The unification of China by Ch'in Shih Huang did not mean the end of struggle. From the founding of the Ch'in dynasty all the way to the destruction of the Western Han dynasty, a period of nearly 250 years, the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration had never been interrupted, although the restorationist forces of the slave-owners had waned gradually.

It is these struggles between revolution and reaction and between restoration and opposition to restoration during a whole era, including overt and covert, bloody and bloodless, political and economic, military and cultural struggles, that have provided us with very rich experience in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. This experience has lively and profound significance unique to our social history. Communists and the masses of people who are making revolution on Chinese soil must apply the Marxist viewpoint in summing up these experiences and lessons and make them serve our current struggle for socialist revolution and construction.

The history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools tells us that a correct line does not emerge spontaneously, but emerges and develops in the course of struggle. During profound social changes, an advanced class can develop and perfect its revolutionary line and make full preparations for future struggle only through criticizing reactionary lines and reactionary trends of thought and by summing up the experience and lessons of class struggle. In the Warring States period the rising landlord class initiated a full-scale offensive, with all ducal states engulfed in a wave of reform. Shang Yang's reform with its thoroughess induced widespread repercussions in all states. The Confucian and Legalist schools unfolded an acute struggle over whether to negate or confirm such social change. Mencius, a representative figure of the Confucian school hoisting the banner of "pleading for the people," put forward a set of doctrines advocating "benevolent government" with the object of negating and overthrowing the political power of the rising landlord class and restoring

the slave-owners dictatorship. Hsün K'uang and Han Fei, representing the Legalist school, firmly refuted Mencius' fallacies of "benevolent government," pointing out that the doctrines of "benevolence and righteousness" were no more than the "theories of fools and impostors," restorationist theories opposing political reforms. In so doing, they ardently defended the reforms being introduced in various states. These polemics spread to all spheres involving social and political questions and world outlook. The Legalist line was further developed and perfected. Ch'in Shih Huang resolutely implemented the Legalist line, and established the first united feudal state with centralization of authority. His victory in the unification of the six states was not only a military victory but also a direct result of the great polemics during which the Legalists criticized Confucian theories.

After the establishment of the Ch'in Dynasty, the struggle between restoration and opposition to restoration was still very acute. Whether or not the rising landlord class was able to retain its political power depended on whether or not it would continue to implement the Legalist line. In this aspect, the Ch'in dynasty had experiences both of success and failure. The overthrown slave-owning class was unwilling to step off the historical stage. Using ancient things to castigate the contemporary, members of the overthrown slave-owning class launched one attack after another against the Ch'in court in an attempt to change Ch'in Shih Huang's Legalist line and to subvert the dictatorship of the rising landlord class. By resolutely taking the revolutionary measure of "burning books and burying Confucian scholars alive," Ch'in Shih Huang smashed the attacks by the restorationist slaveowners, persisted in the system of prefectures and counties characterized by centralization of authority, and upheld the Legalist line. However, as Chairman Mao pointed out profoundly by way of summing up historical experience, "All previous revolutions, with the exception of the one which replaced the primitive commune system with the slave system and thus replaced a non-exploiting system with an exploiting system, have invariably resulted in the replacement of one system of exploitation by another. They need not and could not do such a thing as thoroughly suppressing counter-revolution." ("Introductory Notes to 'Materials Concerning the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique") Ch'in Shih Huang was no exception. When he became somewhat dizzy with the peaceful atmosphere in which the people led a quiet life and no battle was fought, Chao Kao, a representative of the restorationist slaveowners, sneaked into the inner circle of the Ch'in court in the disguise of a Legalist and waged a "heart-removing" war against the regime of the landlord class. As soon as Ch'in Shih Huang died, Chao Kao launched the counter-revolutionary coup, replaced Ch'in Shih Huang's Legalist line with the Confucian line of "calling to office people in obscurity, conferring honor on the lowly, enriching the poor and making friends with the distant," and carried out bloody class reprisals against the political representatives of the landlord class. This period of history shows that after the seizure of political power by the landlord class, overt or covert struggle waged by the restorationist slaveowners was, in the final analysis, aimed at changing the Legalist line of the central government. Once the line is changed, the door to restoration is opened wide. Therefore, the revolutionary class which has seized political power must give first consideration to questions

involving the line and maintain high vigilance against the conspiracies of the reactionary classes to change the revolutionary line. We must uphold Chairman Mao's teachings: "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything," and "practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." We must draw on the experience and lessons of class struggle in the history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools. In his black den, the renegade and traitor Lin Piao had sinisterly written thus: "Enduring setbacks--making a great plan. Only when one sets a great plan will he endure small setbacks. Wait, endure, and be harsh." What was the "great plan" set by Lin Piao? It was to radically change the Party's basic line and restore capitalism. To achieve this criminal goal, he resorted to the counter-revolutionary tactics of "wait," "endure," and "be harsh."

The history of Chao Kao's usurpation of power and of the peasant uprisings in the latter part of the Ch'in dynasty clearly shows that the rising landlord class could not carry the struggle against restoration through to the end by relying only on its own strength and that the people were the main force against restoration. This was because the rising landlord class was an exploiting class and a minority in society. And, since the landlord class was antagonistic toward the peasants, it of course could not really rely on the masses of people to carry out the struggle against restoration. This was the weakness the regime of the rising landlord class could not avoid. When Chao Kao usurped power, the politicians of the landlord class were at the end of their rope. However, as soon as the peasant uprisings erupted, the situation changed. When the peasant forces led by Ch'en Sheng and Wu Kuang rose up, they received support from people everywhere. While striking at the rule of the landlord class, they sent Chao Kao's restorationist regime into its grave in less than 3 years. Summing up the historical experience of the bourgeois revolution, Engels pointed out: "In 17th-century England and 18th-century France, not even the most magnificent achievements of the bourgeoisie were made by the bourgeoisie itself, but by the masses of the common people--namely, the workers and peasants." ("The Prussian 'Crisis'") Similarly, during the radical social change in which the feudal system replaced the slave system, the main force against the restoration of the slave system was also the peasants and a part of the slaves who had not yet turned into peasants. This was determined by their class status. For, once the slave system was restored, the peasants would surely return to the most tragic position of slavery. No revolution and no struggle against restoration in history could have succeeded without the strength of the vast masses of the people. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a dictatorship of the overwhelming majority of people over a small minority of exploiters. The proletariat can and must rely on and unite with the working people and all the forces that can be united to smash the class enemy's conspiracies to restore the old order. We must bear firmly in mind Chairman Mao's teaching--"one of the basic principles of the Communist Party is to rely directly on the revolutionary masses." "A line or a viewpoint must be constantly and repeatedly talked about. It won't do to explain it only to a few; it must be explained to all the revolutionary masses." We must rely on the strength of the masses of people to constantly strive to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Following the great peasant uprisings and the wiping out of the restorationist forces of the slave-owning class toward the end of the Ch'in dynasty, the Western Han dynasty of the rising landlord class was born. However, in some spheres the influence of the decadent slave-owning class was still more powerful than that of the rising landlord class. The former was also more experienced than the statesmen of the rising landlord class in certain aspects of the struggle. It was inevitable that the decadent slave-owning class would take advantage of all this to carry out repeated contests of strength with the rising landlord class. In the early days of Western Han, a number of big slave-owners in industry and commerce took advantage of the prevailing economic difficulties to force prices up by hoarding and speculation, and contended with the landlord class for land and labor in an attempt to undermine the economic base of the feudal society. In the meantime, these big slave-owners collaborated with the conservatives of the landlord class--the regional recessionist forces backed by private armies--to set up independent kingdoms. They mustered large numbers of Confucianists to create public opinion for restoration in the ideological sphere. They used their military strength to launch armed rebellions. Besides, they often collaborated with the slave-owning aristocrats of the Huns in China and attempted to subvert the centralized administrative power of Western Han of the landlord class by two-pronged attack. All this explained the protracted, complicated and difficult nature of the struggle against restoration in the Western Han period. In the early and middle Western Han periods, this struggle was already going on vehemently on several fronts. The landlord class dictatorship of centralized power was stabilized only after Emperor Ching quelled the "rebellions of the seven states" including Wu and Ch'u, after Emperor Wu launched a general counter-attack against the slave-owning merchants and following the victory in the war against the Huns. This shows that even in the social change in which one exploiting system replaced another, the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration was protracted and complicated and went on in various spheres. The overthrown class would always make the attempt at restoration as long as it still possessed some power. The law of class struggle would not change. Chairman Mao said in 1955, at the time of criticizing the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique: "If even today there are still representatives of the Royalists in the bourgeois National Assembly of France, then it is very possible that many years after the complete elimination of all exploiting classes on earth there will still be representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek dynasty carrying out activities in various areas. The diehards among these people will never admit failure." While studying the history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools, we appreciate even more profoundly a re-study of this scientific summation of historical experience by Chairman Mao. Revolutionary classes and revolutionary people must never forget for a moment that enemies still exist in the world.

During its early and middle periods, the Western Han dynasty was able to win victory in its struggle against restoration because it adhered to the Legalist line. After the death of Ch'in Shih Huang, the Legalist line was interrupted. However, after the death of Emperor Kao Tsu of Han, the

Legalist line was basically carried on through the six reigns of Empress Lü and Emperors Wen, Ching, Wu, Chao and Hsüan. Why was there this difference, since both dynasties were of the rising landlord class? Obviously, it had some thing to do with the fact that the peasant wars toward the end of the Ch'in dynasty had wiped out the remnant forces of the slave-owning aristocracy and with the balance of strength between various classes in early Han. At the same time, it is undeniable that it had much to do with the fact that the Western Han dynasty had kept a Legalist leading group within the central government for a long period of time. Liu Pang learned from the fall of the Ch'in dynasty the utmost importance of the central leading group. He adhered to the Legalist line for appointments and selected capable men based on their practice in struggle. After his death, his Legalist line continued to be upheld by Empress Lü, Emperor Wen and the following rulers. Legalists such as Ch'ao Ts'o, Chang T'ang and Sang Hung-yang were appointed to important posts in the central government. Having a relatively consistent Legalist leading group in the central government insured adherence to the Legalist line, so when armed rebellions broke out, it was possible to put them down. Precisely because of this, the restorationist forces of the slave-owners regarded the Legalist leading group in the central government as the greatest obstacle to their restorationist ambitions. Prince Liu Pi of Wu put forward the counter-revolutionary plan to "rid the emperor of his close but bad court ministers." Raising the banner of supporting the central government, he intended to get rid of the Legalists holding decision-making positions in the central government and to bring down the Legalist leading group so as to radically change the Legalist line pursued by the Western Han dynasty. Chairman Mao summed up this important experience in the history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools, pointing out: "Since Prince Liu Pi of Wu in the Han dynasty invented his well-known tactic of petitioning for the execution of Ch'ao Ts'o (chief advisor to Emperor Ching) in the name of ridding the emperor of a bad minister, many careerists have taken it as treasure. The Hu Feng clique too inherited this mantle." Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the Party also often use this counter-revolutionary tactic of "ridding the emperor of his bad ministers" in order to fundamentally change the Party's basic line. In his "Outline of Project '571,'" didn't the counter-revolutionary careerist and conspirator Lin Piao clamor for dealing blows to the revolutionary forces that upheld Chairman Mao's correct line, while waving the revolutionary banner? "We revolutionaries must understand their tricks. We must study their tactics so that we can defeat them." We must be good at discerning the careerists, conspirators and double-dealers and make sure that the leadership of the Party and the State is always placed in the hands of Marxist revolutionaries.

All the way down to the early and middle periods of the Western Han dynasty, the feudal rulers had been pursuing the Legalist line. However, the purpose of the landlord class in opposing restoration was merely to maintain the order of feudal rule, and it was impossible for it to set new revolutionary tasks for itself. In early Han, after Hsiao Ho had been appointed prime minister, Ts'ao Ts'an said to Emperor Hui: "Emperor Kao and Hsiao Ho made the laws and decrees very clear in founding the empire.

Now, with Your Majesty's blessings, your court officials and myself shall stick to our duties and obey your orders. Is this not the way to serve Your Majesty?" This remark typically reflected a fact, and that was that although the landlord class of this period was still clinging to the Legalist line, it was no longer so militant and revolutionary-minded as the Legalists in the tempestuous period of class struggle. Its revolutionary nature vanished progressively. After Western Han, as the danger of restoration of the slave system was gradually removed, the contradiction between the landlords and peasants became more and more acute. The landlord class gradually changed itself from a real tiger into a paper tiger. The Legalist ideas began to look repugnant to the landlord class, while Confucian ideas, modified and remodelled, met with their needs. This change was the unavoidable historical fate of an exploiting class. By contrast, the proletariat is different, for it is most thoroughgoing in revolution and its ultimate objective is to eliminate classes and realize communism. Therefore, it perseveres in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin said, "Our 'insurance against restoration' is to carry the revolution through to the end." And as Chairman Mao has pointed out, the new system of socialism can only be "consolidated step by step" in the course of the socialist revolution. "To achieve its ultimate consolidation, it is necessary not only to bring about the socialist industrialization of the country and persevere in the socialist revolution on the economic front, but also to carry on constant and arduous socialist revolutionary struggles and socialist education on the political and ideological fronts." ("Speech at the CCP National Propaganda Work Conference") We must persevere in socialist revolution and socialist education in the political, ideological, economic and other spheres for a long time to come for only in this way can we prevent capitalist restoration and accomplish the historical mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

During the middle and final periods of feudal society, the class basis of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools changed. The Confucian doctrines became the dominating ideology of the landlord class, while the Legalists lost their position as representatives of the rising class and became reformists within the landlord class. During various periods, the Legalists proposed certain reform measures in light of serious social and national crises. Their stand to uphold unification and oppose division and to insist on resistance and oppose capitulation, and their exposure and criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, were conducive to the development of the social productive forces, to the development of culture and science, and to the unification and independence of the country, and therefore were of progressive significance. However, it was impossible for them to solve the sharpening basic contradictions in feudal society or find a way out for the feudal system. Although they criticized in various degrees the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, they were unwilling or dared not cause a radical rupture with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. They dared not even openly hoist the Legalist banner. Although they carried on the struggle, they no longer were as full of confidence for the future as were the Legalists before the Western Han dynasty. Because the Confucian school became more and more dominating in feudal society, the Legalist school was subjected to increasing oppression, attacks and persecution by the Confucian school. This situation became still more

pronounced after the Sung dynasty. Any reform, however insignificant, was regarded as a deluge or wild beast arousing immense consternation among the feudal rulers, and was immediately suppressed; any new idea was also treated as a perverse doctrine and exterminated by them through a thousand and one means. The struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools in feudal society as a whole showed that the ideas of worshipping Confucianism and opposing Legalism represented the interests of the most reactionary and darkest forces in China, and that such ideas have always been the stumbling blocks to social change and progress. If we fail to make a great effort to criticize such reactionary ideas, revolution cannot develop, nor can society advance.

Under different circumstances in different periods of history, the Legalists, in line with the tide of historical development, had played a certain progressive role. However, it was impossible for them to consciously grasp the objective law of historical development, and it was impossible for them as well to understand the great role of the masses of people in the making of history. But the proletariat, guided by the Marxist world outlook, can understand and consciously grasp the objective law of historical development and therefore can make the thoroughgoing revolution. The basic line laid down by Chairman Mao for our Party for the entire historical period of socialism is a scientific reflection of the objective law of class struggle in the socialist period. Although our tasks in struggle are arduous and the road of struggle is tortuous, our future is bright. For the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie to be replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat and capitalism by socialism is an inexorable law of historical development. So long as we conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, consciously grasp the objective law of historical development and adhere to the Party's basic line, we assuredly will advance continuously and victoriously along the broad road of socialism.

The use of Marxism to study the historical experience of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and to sum up the universal law governing class struggle and the struggle between the two lines in history can help us gain a deeper understanding of the law of the current class struggle, further strengthen our viewpoint of class struggle, and raise our consciousness in implementing the Party's basic line in order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent capitalist restoration and fulfill the great historical mission of the proletariat. This is our basic objective in studying the historical experience of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and class struggle as a whole. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, we have already made very great achievements in thoroughly criticizing and repudiating the reactionary Confucian ideas and in correctly appraising the historical role of the Legalist school. However, much remains to be done. We must unite and redouble our efforts to make a still greater success of this work.

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On the "Black-Headed People"

by

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In the summer of 1973 an iron bell of the Ch'in dynasty was unearthed in Chienshan Commune, Wenteng hsien, Shantung province. Weighing 32 kilograms, it was slightly round and flat in shape. On its top was cast a half round nose, and by its side was inlaid a bronze imperial plate. On this plate was engraved an imperial edict issued by Ch'in Shih Huang in the 26th of his reign. It read: "In the 26th year the Emperor annexed all princes under heaven, brought peace to the black-headed people (黔首), and was throned as emperor. He summoned his prime minister and his assistants and asked them to unify the weights and measures, which varied from place to place."(1)

This short imperial edict not only showed the efforts of the Ch'in royal court to unify the weights and measures at that time, but also supplied the proof of the great social change occurring in that period. "Peace brought to the multitude"--this remark provided an extremely valuable historical fact for us in correctly evaluating Ch'in Shih Huang's historical role and in studying the social changes at that time.

In 221 B.C. (that is, the 26th year of Ch'in Shih Huang's reign), after unifying the six states the Ch'in royal court issued an important decree: "The common people are renamed the Black-headed People."(2) After the promulgation of this decree, the world was "in a festive mood,"(3) that is, "the world showed its joy by taking to wine."(4) The "black-headed people" by the tens of thousands hailed and celebrated this measure of changing their name by drinking wine.

Why did the Ch'in royal court attach such great importance to the policy toward the "black-headed people"? Why did the change of name arouse such great reactions? To correctly understand the historical significance of this change of name, it is necessary to dwell on the profound changes in the class relations in society in the course of the replacement of the slave system by the feudal system in the pre-Ch'in period.

Chairman Mao points out: "The concept of the people has different content in different countries and in various countries in different historical periods." In Chinese history, "people" (民) was a class concept accompanying the first large-scale class differentiation of mankind, namely, the division of mankind into slave-owners and slaves. This concept referred to slaves. It was also written as "氓" or "甿". In the shell writing of the Shang dynasty, the shape the word "people" (民) took was that of a slave wearing chains and with one eye gouged out. In the Shang and Chou dynasties, "people" might be given away as gifts or sold, slaughtered at will or buried alive as sacrifices with the slave-owners when the latter died. As the property of the slave-owners, they had no rights at all. In the "Confucian Analects," most of the "people" (民) appeared as an enslaved and ruled class, namely, the slave class in relation

to "men." (人) Confucius talked about love for "men," that is, the slave-owning aristocrats, but not for the "people," for whom he mentioned only "use." For instance, the chapter "T'ai-po" says: "The people may be made to follow a path of action, but they may not be made to understand it". The chapter "Hsien Wen" says: "When the rulers love to observe the rules of propriety, the people respond readily to the calls on them for service." In the eyes of Confucius, "people" were tools to be used by "men," and were forever placed in a subordinated position. This shows that in the slave society "the fundamental fact is that the slaves were not regarded as human beings--not only were they not regarded as citizens, they were not even regarded as human beings." (Lenin, "The State")

Following the development of the major social upheaval in society, however, the mutual relations between various classes--including those between the slave-owning class and the slave class and between the landlord class and the peasant class--were continually changing. This change was also reflected in the class content of the concept "people" (民). Since the Spring and Autumn period, the appearance of the feudal relations of production had produced new classes, that is, the landlords and peasants. In those days, the stormy slave uprisings served as a propellant for the transition from the slave to the feudal society, bringing about profound changes in the social positions of various classes. Those "people" who originally could be slaughtered or sold at will gradually won a certain measure of personal freedom and became peasants, with a small number of them even gradually joining the ranks of the landlord class. On the other hand, a number of the slave-owners went bankrupt and lost their former dignity and social positions; in those places where power was in the hands of the landlord class, they lost their former power and became the target of rule and dictatorship, so that they always dreamed of restoring the old order and became the so-called "people in obscurity."

Faced with this momentous change in the class relations in society, the Confucian and Legalist schools enforced two entirely different and mutually antagonistic political lines, and they also differed completely in their attitude toward the actual class content reflected in the "people."

Represented by Confucius, the Confucians demanded "rectification of names" and opposed the liberation of the slaves in a futile attempt to restore the original class content of "people" (民), abrogate the social positions already gained by the landlord class and peasants, and re-establish the slave-owners dictatorship so that "the people will not dare not to be reverent" and "the people will not dare not to be sincere."(5) In this way they could return to the Western Chou slave society "where the people are caused to be in awe."(6) At the same time, they made every effort to enable those slave-owners who had been reduced to "people in obscurity" to restore their lost positions. This is what is meant by "calling to office those who have fallen into obscurity." "Calling to office" implies rise and promotion. To enable "those who have fallen into obscurity" to rise again to become the ruling class was precisely for the purpose of reducing the landlord class into a ruled class and turning the peasants into slaves once more. During the Warring States period, Mencius developed Confucius' reactionary theory of "rectification of names" and advocated what he called "the people are a precious element."(7) Here "people" (民) obviously did not refer

to the broad masses of peasants or slaves but to the slave-owners whose social position had declined. Essentially he attempted to rely on the slave-owners who had become "people in obscurity" as the social foundation for restoring the slave system. He cursed the newly emerging landlord class as "seditious people"(8) and the laboring people as "the mass of people" who were the same as "lower animals."(9)

The Legalists adopted a totally different line, putting stress on the need to strike at the "five kinds of people," such as "the Confucian scholars and speech-makers" and "merchants," who caused "the land to lie waste and the military strength to be weakened"(10) in a state. These persons were described by Han Fei as the "five vermin,"(11) meaning principally the Confucians and slave-owners in industry and commerce. Proceeding from the goal of setting up and consolidating a feudal government, the Legalists held that "the rise of a state is due to farming and war," resolutely calling for raising the social positions of "people engaged in farming and war,"(12) that is, the landlords and peasants. The Legalist line suited the situation marked by the rise of "people engaged in farming and war" during the Warring States period and conformed to the tide of history. Under these circumstances, "people engaged in farming and war" gradually won the title of "black-headed people."

The "black-headed people" were a product of the second large-scale class differentiation in Chinese history, a name that accompanied the appearance of the newly emerging landlord class and peasants. This might be compared to the French bourgeois revolution, in which the bourgeoisie, the workers and peasants were known as the "third class." In China's Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods, the landlord class was a new exploiting class, while the broad masses of peasants were laborers. According to pre-Ch'in records, the term "Black-headed people" appeared first approximately in the middle Warring States period.(13) Toward the end of this period, discussion of "black-headed people" was found in the "Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Lü," "Han Fei Tzu," "Notes on Propriety" and in Li Ssu's writings. At that time, the newly emerging landlord class and peasants had grown relatively strong, and the term "people" (民) was even more complicated in class composition than before. The objective social needs drove people to fall into the habit gradually of calling the landlords and peasants "black-headed people" in order to distinguish them from the slave-owners who had been reduced to "people in obscurity" in class status. Later, this term was spread to the state of Ch'in, where following the daily improvement and consolidation of the social positions of the landlord class and the peasants, the name "black-headed people" also became more and more popular with each passing day. It was after unifying the six states that Ch'in Shih Huang gave the people the name "black-headed people" and promulgated a decree to this effect throughout the empire. Therefore, Wang Nien-sun, a scholar of the Ch'ing dynasty, said: The term "black-headed people" "had existed long ago, and it was only officially adopted by Ch'in. It was not invented by the First Emperor of Ch'in."(14)

The term "black-headed people" was first derived on the basis of the peasants' characteristics. According to the explanation given in "Kuang Ya," "the black-headed people were rabble."(15) "Shuo Wen" said:

"Ch'in called the people black-headed people because of their dark color. Chou called them li-min (黎民)."(16) During the Western Chou era, the "rabble" meant "li-min" and were also called "jen-ke" (人囚), meaning slaves. Why were slaves called "li-min" or "jen-ke"? Li means black. Ke was a large earthern pot used for cooking and permeated by smoke and fire it was of course also black. Laboring in the fields all year round, slaves had dark faces. When the slave-owners called them "li-min" or "jen-ke," they meant to insult and despise the slaves. The "black-headed people" were different from slaves, for the former belonged to different classes. But the peasants, who formed the overwhelming majority of the "black-headed people," surely had longstanding ties with slaves. Ch'ien (黔), like li, meant black. Ying Shao said: "Ch'ien means li, that is, black."(17) Chu Hsi also admitted that the names "black-headed people" and "li-min" were derived from the black color, but then he described them as "young and strong persons"(18) with black hair, thus completely obliterating the class content of the "black-headed people" or "li-min." According to the "Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Lü," the distinguishing feature of the "black-headed people" was their "dark color."(19) The peasants as well as the slaves were exploited laborers, and heavy labor in the open fields caused their faces to be sun-burned and dark. They were not allowed to wear hats. They could only wear black turbans "used by the base and lowly."(20) Hence, the name "black-headed people."

In the course of the triumph of the feudal system over the slave system, the social position of the "black-headed people" gradually rose, a fruit of their prolonged struggle against the slave-owning class. The different social elements among the "black-headed people" played different historical roles in the course of eliminating the slave system. The landlord class, representing the new relations of production, held the reins of leadership in the revolution against the slave system, with the broad masses of peasants constituting the basic motive force of the revolution. Peasants were formerly slaves. The foundation of the slave society was radically shaken by the uprisings and resistance by millions of slaves. The uprising staged by Liuhsia Chih toward the end of the Spring and Autumn period had already demonstrated the huge power of revolution. Chang T'ai-yen said that Liuhsia Chih "went a long way against the law of Chou." So far as the rule of the slave system was concerned, "no one but Chih who could explode its myth," "no one but Chih who could reveal its pretense," and "no one but Chih who could bring about equality among people."(21) After the vast masses of slaves rose to become peasants on freeing themselves from the bondage of the slave system, they constituted the principal force of the "people engaged in farming and war," that is, the "black-headed people." Their demand for complete destruction of the slave system determined the inevitable extinction of the slave society. It was precisely by relying on the strength of the peasants that the landlord class was able to defeat the slave-owning class and rise to become the ruling class. In his reform in the state of Ch'in, Shang Yang set forth the policy of rewarding "farming and war." He maintained clearly that "judging by the feelings of the people, what they want is a piece of land to grow their crops."(22) To a certain extent, therefore, he saw the strong aspirations of the broad masses of slaves to be freed from the trammels of the slave system, and advocated "giving

them a small piece of land and exempting them from tax and labor service for three generations"[23] so as to gain their support. A basic aim of Shang Yang's reform was to "uphold the feudal system of landownership and partially satisfy the desire of the slaves for land"[24] so as to turn them into peasants and "persuade them to do their best in farming."[25] This drastically boosted the economic power of the feudal regime in the state of Ch'in. And it was of course on the basis of forming relatively strong ranks of "people engaged in farming and war" that the state of Ch'in could "expand its territories with troops and enjoy prosperity when its troops are not used."[26]

The "black-headed people" included different revolutionary classes. As the slave system was heading toward extinction, the representative figures of the landlord class among the "black-headed people" saw their social position rising higher and higher, in the late Warring States period they won a very high political status in the state of Ch'in. The "wealthy and influential" Li Ssu, prime minister of the state of Ch'in, called himself a "black-head wearing crude clothes and sleeping in a lane."[27] As for the broad masses of laboring people among the "black-headed people," their social position was apparently much lower. Li Ssu said: "The black-headed people looked tired and drawn as a result of labor."[28] The "black-headed people" here referred to the laboring people, still the targets of exploitation. However, their position and condition of living, particularly those of the peasants who tilled their own land, were after all much better than those of slaves. That Li Ssu called himself "black-headed" showed that this name was then no longer one that invited insult but one that deserved some pride. This situation indicated that the social positions of various classes among the "black-headed people" had been raised in varying degrees in the wake of the development of class struggle and the advance of society.

Against this background, the representative figures of various classes, particularly the Confucians and Legalists, vied with one another in winning over the broad masses of peasants among the "black-headed people." The Confucians, bent on opposing social change and defending and restoring the reactionary rule of slave-owners, assumed a posture of showing sympathy for the sufferings of the peasants and launched vengeful counter-attacks against the newly emerging landlord class. As pretentious as a cat who wept over the body of a rat, Lü Pu-wei said: "Much has gone wrong in the world of today, and the black-headed people cannot suffer more. The Son of Heaven has vanished, men of wisdom are ignored, and the rulers are morally unrestrained."[29] In Lü's eyes, the root-cause of the "sufferings of the black-headed people" was the fall of the Son of Heaven of Chou, a symbol of the slave system. The so-called "men of wisdom," that is, the slave-owning aristocrats, had lost power, and the "rulers" of the landlord class appeared strong and powerful. In fact, the basic cause of the sufferings of the peasants among the "black-headed people" at that time was the restoration activities of the slave-owning class represented by Lü Pu-wei. For them to substitute the Confucian line for the Legalist line could only cause the vast masses of peasants among the "black-headed people" to be reduced to slaves again. Taking a course opposite that of Lü Pu-wei, the Legalists argued the need to enforce the line of landlord class dictatorship. Han Fei said explicitly: "Enacting laws and setting weights and measures will benefit the masses of people."[30] The "masses of people" here belonged to the "black-headed people" at that time. Li Ssu also said: "An enlightened king does not

reject the masses of people" and could not "abandon the black-headed people to the enemy states."(31) These words showed that in order to defeat the slave system with the feudal system, the Legalists attached extremely great importance to winning the support of the broad masses of laboring people among the "black-headed people." And as far as the broad masses of laboring people were concerned, the replacement of the slave system by the feudal system freed them from the slave status and enabled them to win a certain measure of personal freedom; hence, they were in favor of the Legalist political line at that time.

However, up to the last years of the Warring States period, the social position of the "black-headed people" was still unstable. The remnant forces of the slave-owning class were the cause behind the state of division and chaotic fighting at the time, bringing serious calamities to the "black-headed people." In view of this, the broad masses of the "black-headed people" urgently demanded further destruction of the slave system and an end to the phase of division and chaotic fighting in order to consolidate their own social position. It was under these conditions that Ch'in Shih Huang put forward the slogan "Wipe out tyrants and rescue the black-headed people,"(32) and started the war to unify the country. As he went along with the trends of historical development and met the aspirations of the broad masses of the people, he had the universal support of the "black-headed people." The people were the main force of the war of unification, providing the powerful material foundation and military strength for the unification of the country. Shedding their blood in the war, they made the greatest sacrifices. This was the basic reason why Ch'in Shih Huang was able to unify the six states quickly. Ch'ao Ts'o, a Legalist of the Han dynasty said: During the war of unification waged by the Ch'in dynasty, the root cause of the defeat of the six states was "the people's opposition," namely, the people were opposed to the phase of division and secession. And the reason why the state of Ch'in was "able to annex the six states and set up the Son of Heaven" was that it had "adequate financial resources and a people good at fighting a war."(33) The support of the people determined the sure triumph of the war of unification. After Ch'in Shih Huang unified the six states and established the first unified feudal country of centralized power in Chinese history, within a period of time and to a certain degree a situation was created in which "peace and tranquility are enjoyed by the black-headed people and no wars are fought."(34) Yen An of the Han dynasty said: After the Ch'in dynasty unified the six states, "the common people are spared the scourge of war" and "everyone thinks he has gained a new lease of life."(35)

Having unified the six states, Ch'in Shih Huang pursued a series of major policies with a view to consolidating the feudal system. One of the basic measures he adopted was to "remain the people the black-headed people," confirming the social position they gained in prolonged struggle. For several centuries the "black-headed people" had risen from a low to a high social position, and the black color, as their distinguishing feature, was no longer cursed but praised. Ch'in Shih Huang accepted and transformed the theory of the "Cycle of Five Powers," which prevailed in the late Warring States period. He believed that the slave society of the Chou dynasty was under the Power of Fire and the Ch'in dynasty must overcome

the Power of Fire with the Power of Water. Since the Power of Water was black in color, the Ch'in royal court stipulated that "black must become the paramount color for garments, flags and pennants,"(36), so black became the mark in color of the Ch'in dynastic government. It was the most admired color at that time. Undoubtedly, therefore, the people at that time were shown high respect when they were called "black-headed people." When Ch'in Shih Huang used the viewpoint of "water overcoming fire" to prove the rationality of setting up the Ch'in dynasty, he was of course adhering to a theory of historical idealism. But its actual content reflected the objective fact that the feudal system had defeated the slave system and the "black-headed people" had trumphed over the slave-owning class. "The people are renamed the black-headed people"--this is a summing-up of this historical process. It legally affirmed the ruling position of the landlord class as well as confirming that the laboring people would no longer be slaves. Later, Ch'in Shih Huang further abolished the prerogatives of the clan nobles who had not rendered any meritorious service, with the result that "not an inch of land in Ch'in was used for fiefdom, and not a single descendent of the former nobles was made a prince."(37) This was exactly what Chang T'ai-yen meant when he said that "those of the royal clan who had rendered no meritorious service" were "treated on the same basis as the black-headed people wearing crude clothes."(38) In 207 B.C., the Second Emperor of Ch'in, before he was killed, had said: "Let me live with my wife and children as a common citizen (black-headed people) like the other princes."(39) It can be seen that during his reign Ch'in Shih Huang had indeed carried out the policy of turning children of the royal household into "black-headed people."

"Renaming the people black-headed people" was a more thorough policy for further destroying the slave system and consolidating the feudal system. This was the result of the profound changes in the relations between various classes in society since the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods. It signified the basic destruction of the class relations marked by the ownership of slaves and the final establishment throughout the country of the feudal relations between classes in society. Lenin pointed out: "The change in the form of exploitation transformed the slave-owning state into the feudal state. This was of immense importance." ("The State") In this sense, precisely, we must fully affirm the progressive historical effect of "renaming the people the black-headed people."

On the basis of establishing the feudal relations of production, Ch'in Shih Huang proclaimed the policy of "caring for the black-headed people" in order to protect these new relations of production. In the year 219 B.C. he adopted the policy of "enriching the black-headed people by encouraging farming and discouraging secondary pursuits."(40) By attacking the slave-owners in industry and commerce, he stabilized and improved the economic position of the "black-headed people." In 216 B.C., Ch'in Shih Huang, on the basis of Shang Yang's above-mentioned land policy, made "the black-headed people report their land holdings and pay taxes accordingly."(41) This meant that the "black-headed people" were ordered to report the number of acres of land they owned, and their ownership of these plots of land was accorded official recognition. Moreover, they were

required to pay taxes according to the acreage of land they owned. This was a major reform, which formally abolished the land ownership under the slave system and confirmed the land ownership of landlords and peasants who tilled their own land throughout the country. The load of labor service to be borne by the peasants of the Ch'in Dynasty was not very heavy. At that time, "the rich and strong were put on the right-hand side and the poor and weak were placed on the left-hand side of the list,"(42) and labor service started from the "right-hand side." The first to be drafted for service were the guilty officials who failed to carry out the Legalist line and the slave-owners in industry and commerce, and the rich families would be the next. Of course, the poor peasants were also drafted for service, but it was laid down that they were to do labor service for only one month a year and that they were only to perform military service in one year and perform guard duties in the frontier for another year in their whole life. This series of policies to a certain extent unleashed the social productive forces and promoted the development of the feudal economy.

After it was established, the Ch'in dynasty was still faced with the serious threat of restoration by the slave-owners. Especially those reactionary Confucian scholars "learn only from the old, not from the new, and use their learning to oppose our rule and confuse the black-headed people."(43) They cheated "the black-headed people" by means of "extolling the past and slighting the present" in order to make it easier to restore the slave order. Under the situation where these reactionary Confucian scholars "confuse the black-headed people with empty rhetoric,"(44) the landlord class could not prevent the restoration by the slave-owners merely by relying on its own strength alone. Therefore, while enforcing the policy of protecting the "black-headed people," the Ch'in court also recognized the content of the political and economic positions won by the peasants after freeing themselves from the slave system in order to win the support of the laboring people for the newly-founded landlord class regime. It was precisely because Ch'in Shih Huang adopted the Legalist line and policy of raising the position of the "black-headed people" that the conspiracy of the reactionary Confucian scholars to "confuse the black-headed people" was smashed, the restorationist forces of the slave-owners were effectively curbed, and the united feudal empire of centralized power was safeguarded.

Although Ch'in Shih Huang resolutely suppressed a group of reactionaries and temporarily crushed the adverse current of restoration, landlord class limitations prevented him from setting forth the measure of directly relying on the masses of the laboring people to oppose restoration by the slave-owners, and the problems posed by opposition to restoration were not basically solved. Throughout the country large groups of former aristocrats lay low, and their political representative Chao Kao wormed his way into the heart of the Ch'in court. By 210 B.C., no sooner had Ch'in Shih Huang died than Chao Kao staged a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat and replaced the Legalist line with the Confucian line. The position of the "black-headed people" changed overnight. The landlord class and the Legalists suffered from heavy blows and the laboring people from bloody class reprisals. "A rein of terror prevails among the black-headed people" sharply contrasts with

"peace and tranquility among the black-headed people" during Ch'in Shih Huang's time. "The Second Emperor's acceptance of Chao Kao's plan" resulted in "the black-headed people being endlessly tortured and misgivings and sufferings created throughout the empire."(45) In the city of Hsienyang, under Chao Kao's bloody, violent suppression, "corpses heaped on one another; people sentenced to die looked at each other in despair. The common people turned their eyes away and dared not go out of their house; they were living in fear."(46) While taking a political perverse course, the slave-owner restorationist regime headed by Chao Kao squeezed and exploited the laboring people economically. Uncompensated labor services were carried out on an unprecedented scale, with large groups of those who were formerly required to perform relatively light labor service were endlessly drafted for labor service. Iron-clad facts proved that once counter-revolutionary restoration was brought about, the people would suffer, and the vast masses of the laboring people, in particular, suffered deeply as never before. Was not Lin Piao's plot to restore capitalism designed to plunge the hundreds of millions of the laboring people into bloodbaths?

However, Chao Kao's counter-revolutionary coup d'etat had not made the "black-headed people" yield. Revolutionary peasants led by Ch'en Sheng and Wu Kuang fired the first shot and raised the big banner of armed uprisings. Their rapid overthrow of Chao Kao's reactionary rule demonstrated the great historical role of the revolutionary peasants in the struggle to destroy the slave-owners restoration. The fruit of this victory was later utilized by the landlord class, namely, the Western Han dynasty founded by Liu Pang. It was with the support of the "black-headed people" that Liu Pang inherited Ch'in Shih Huang's Legalist line and defeated the slave-owners forces represented by Hsiang Yü. "Han adopted Ch'in's institutions." In the early years of Western Han, "the Cycle of Five Powers was promoted, and it was believed that Han was under the Power of Water, and black was respected as before."(47) Han continued to carry out Ch'in Shih Huang's policy toward the "black-headed people." But since the peasants did not represent the advanced relations of production, large-scale peasant uprisings toward the end of the Ch'in dynasty only paved the way for the triumph of the landlord class over restoration, while for the peasants themselves the new feudal chains replaced the old slave chains.

The history of the emergence of the "black-headed people" and the gradual elevation of their social position was a history of the landlord class seizing power from the slave-owning class, a history of the laboring people turning from slaves into peasants. This was a major progressive step in the history of human development. Marx and Engels pointed out: "The foundation on which a new class builds its own rule is invariably broader than that on which the classes before it relied." ("The German Ideology") The establishment of the feudal system meant the liberation of the laboring people from the slave status, and this was the reason why the landlord class in its revolutionary period was able to gain the support of the laboring people in its opposition to the slave system. However, peasants were still exploited and oppressed by the landlord class in the feudal society, being basically incapable of changing their own fate. In the final analysis, like all revolutions led by the exploiting classes, revolutions led by the landlord class only replaced the old system of the exploitation with a new one. The proletariat is the greatest and most advanced class in the history of mankind, and the proletarian revolution

alone can lead to the complete emancipation of the laboring people. The current study of the history of class struggle, including the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools, from the Marxist viewpoint is aimed at preventing capitalist restoration, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and carrying the socialist revolution through to the end in order to gradually achieve the great Communist cause of basically destroying all systems of exploitation on the earth and completely liberating the whole of humanity.

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Notes:

(1) Quoted from "Wen Wu" [Cultural Relics], No. 7, 1974. Iron bells of this type inlaid with a bronze imperial plate were also discovered in Tsoyün hsien, Shansi province, in 1957, with the imperial edict engraved the same as this one. The present imperial edict is included in "Ch'uan Ch'in Wen" [全秦文 Complete Records of Ch'in]
(2) (3) (32) (34) (36) (39) (40) (43) (44) "The First Emperor of Ch'in, Historical Records"
(4) Interpretation of "The First Emperor of Ch'in in Historical Records"
(5) "Tzu Lu, Confucian Analects"
(6) "Pa I, Confucian Analects"
(7) "Chin Hsin Part II, Mencius"
(8) "Li Lou Part I, Mencius"
(9) "Li Lou Part II, Mencius"
(10) "Calculation of Land, Book of Lord Shang"
(11) "The Five Vermin, Han Fei Tzu"
(12) "Farming and War, Book of Lord Shang"
(13) "The State of Wei Part II, Strategems of the Warring States"
(14) (15) "Explanatory Notes, Kuang Ya Shu Cheng [广雅注疏正]"
(16) "Shuo Wen Hsieh Tzu [說文解字]", Vol. 10, Part I
(17) (41) Explanatory notes to "The First Emperor of Ch'in in Historical Records"
(18) "Liang Hui Wang Part I, Mencius, Annotations of Four Books"
(19) "Quest for Talented Men, on Prudent Conduct, Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Lü"
(20) T'ao Tsung-i, "An Inquiry into the Turban," "Records of Farming in Nants'un", Vol. 30
(21) Chang T'ai-yen, "Confucian Knights, An Examination"
(22) (23) "Resettlement of People, Book of Lord Shang"
(24) "Lord Shang, Historical Records"
(25) (26) "Fan Sui and Ts'ai Tse, Historical Records"
(27) (28) (31) (37) "Li Ssu, Historical Records"
(29) "Suppression of Revolt, Chronicles of Meng Ch'iu, Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Lü"
(30) "Questions on Farming, Han Fei Tzu"
(33) "Ch'ao Ts'o, History of Han"
(35) "Yen An, History of Han"
(38) Chang T'ai-yen, "Notes on Ch'in's Rule"
(42) Index to "Ch'en Sheh, Historical Records"
(45) "The Imperial Mandate, Salt and Iron"
(46) "Chou Ch'in, Salt and Iron"
(47) "Prime Minister Chang, Historical Records"

Comment on the Paihukuan Conference and "Pai Hu T'ung"

by

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Paihukuan (白虎观) was a lecture hall used by the emperor and Confucian scholars in the Northern Palace in Loyang during the Eastern Han period. The Paihukuan Conference, held in the fourth year of the reign of Emperor Chang (79 A.D.), was a well-known conference in Chinese history. It was a conference organized by the government to study the annotations of Confucian classics; it was also a quasi-religious conference to worship Confucius and return to propriety. Compiled by Pan Ku, "Pai Hu T'ung" (白虎通 also known as "Pai Hu T'ung-i" 白虎通义 [Pai Hu General Principles] or "白虎通德論 Pai Hu T'ung-te-lun" [On the Pai Hu General Virtues]) was a summation of this conference. Through studying the annotations of the "Five Classics" and giving them the form of feudal state laws, the rulers of Eastern Han went all out to praise and immortalize Confucius and assure Confucian ideology of a monopolist position. This produced an extremely bad influence on later generations. History is a mirror of reality. To expose and criticize the Paihukuan Conference and the book "Pai Hu T'ung" will help us understand better the reactionary essence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius advocated by Lin Piao as well as the major significance of the current annotations of Legalist works and study of the history of the Confucian-Legalist struggle and class struggle as a whole.

(I)

The Paihukuan Conference was not held by accident. It was a product of the dictatorship exercised by the landlord class--which was becoming daily more conservative and reactionary--over the peasant class in the political and economic spheres in the wake of the bloody suppression of the Lulin, Ch'ihmei and other peasant uprisings. It stood for the continuation and development of the reactionary ideas of honoring Confucianism and opposing Legalism since Western Han.

Although the remnant forces of the slave system still existed in the middle Western Han period, following the gradual consolidation of the feudal system, the basic contradiction between the peasant class and the landlord class also became daily more aggravated. The historical position of the landlord class began to change. Trying to meet the demands of the conservatives of the landlord class, Tung Chung-shu in his works "Policy on Recommending the Wise and Virtuous" (举贤良对策) and "The Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn" (春秋繁露) inherited the "harmony between Heaven and man" idea of Confucius and Mencius, absorbed the mysterious theory of catastrophe of the five elements of Yin and Yang, and re-defined the Confucian classics. He set forth a reactionary, idealist ideological system with "interaction between Heaven and man" as its theoretical basis and "three cardinal rules and five constant virtues" as its central content, and used it to prove the sanctity and eternity of the feudal rulers

and their ruling order. In the late Western Han period, the aggravation of the social contradictions and the development of the peasant uprisings forced the feudal rulers to take the road of worshipping Confucianism and opposing Legalism in order to protect their reactionary power. So, on the basis of Tung Chung-shu's reactionary ideological system, a kind of reactionary idea further combining Confucian classics with religious superstitions--the study of Ch'an-wei--was born and became the dominant ideology in the society at that time.

"Ch'an" (讖) was a kind of religious prophecy which "in implicit language foretells fortune and disaster," in other words, propaganda was conducted in the form of God's revelation. "Wei" (纬) refers to the "canon", that is, the Confucian classics are interpreted from the divine viewpoint as intended by God, and thus the study of the classics was turned into a study of theology. The several emperors in the late Western Han period all sought the help of ch'an-wei and vainly attempted to use the will of God to deceive the people and maintain their power. However, superstitions and the ideas of Heavenly will could in no way save them from doom. A rapid succession of peasant uprisings put an end to the rule of the Western Han Dynasty.

Peasant uprisings in the late Western Han period, the major ones being the Lulin and Ch'ihmei peasant forces, not only dealt stunning political blows to the feudal rule of the landlord class but also powerfully pounded at the worship-Confucius adverse current in the ideological arena. They charged into the imperial palace, killed Wang Mang who vigorously promoted the restoration of the old order and regression and who claimed to be the "real Son of Heaven," and exploded the myth that 'the Son of Heaven receives his mandate from Heaven." They set up a government and issued orders. They trampled underfoot those high officials who used to lord it over the people and smashed the dogma of "three cardinal rules and five constant virtues." They burned the Confucian classics and arrested the Confucian scholars. This so frightened the followers of Confucius and Mencius who mouthed benevolence, righteousness and virtue but who actually made robbers out of men and harlots out of women that "they fled to the hills with their classics." ("Stories of the Confucian Scholars, History of Later Han") By the time the Eastern Han Dynasty was established, the situation facing the landlord class was already one in which "rites and music have decayed and the canon lies neglected." (Ibid)

The Eastern Han Government, established amid the bloodbaths caused by the brutal suppression of the Lulin, Ch'ihmei and other peasant uprisings, was a reactionary government with the big landlords of the powerful clans as the main prop. In the early years of Eastern Han, the contradiction between the peasant class and the landlord class remained very acute and small-scale peasant uprisings continued to occur in various places, sometimes even directly threatening the central government. Faced with this situation, the rulers, apart from continuing to use violence to suppress the peasants' resistance and struggle, urgently needed an ideological weapon with which to defend their rule. In this way, the ch'an-wei study that appeared in the late Western Han period was regarded by the Eastern Han rulers as treasure and revered as the orthodoxy of the Confucian ideology. In his inaugural speech on ascending the throne, Liu Hsiu cited two prophetic sentences from "Ch'ih Fu Charm": "Liu Hsiu sends troops to arrest the lawless,

and he will become the Son of Heaven because of his virtue." ("Biography of Emperor Kuangwu, History of Later Han") On the pretext of "Heavenly mandate," he proclaimed himself emperor. In the first year of Chungyuan (56 A.D.), in the name of the emperor he "announces that divinations be studied in the world," (Ibid), thereby formally confirming the ch'an-wei study as the orthodoxy of the Confucian school. All ideas outside ch'an-wei were to be rejected as heretical theories. As a result of vigorous promotion by the emperor, Confucian scholars, in order to ingratiate themselves with the emperor and seek government positions, mostly studied ch'an-wei while studying the Confucian classics. So, the study of ch'an-wei became prevalent. However, it was opposed by some progressive thinkers of the landlord class. For instance, Huan T'an time and again submitted memorials to the emperor voicing his opposition of the study of ch'an-wei on the ground that such divinations were forged by "people who have little skill and little wisdom" in order to "cheat and confuse the public to satisfy their lust for gains." ("Biography of Huan T'an, History of Later Han") He therefore urged the rejection of such study. Greatly infuriated, Liu Hsiu accused him of "deriding the sage and defying the law" and threatened to kill him. Huan T'an was demoted to a prefect of Liu-an prefecture but died on his way to take up the post. Here it can be seen that the struggle in the ideological circles was most acute at that time.

With a view to further eliminating dissidents and unifying the thought of the country in order to tighten their ideological control of the peasants, the Minister of Education Yang Chung submitted a memorial to Emperor Chang, proposing a conference of Confucian scholars to define the five classics so as "to set a permanent example for future generations." ("Biography of Yang Chung, History of Later Han") Emperor Chang accepted his proposal and personally presided over the Paihukuan Conference. Most of the participants were students of the contemporary texts of the classics, but there were also representatives from students of the ancient texts of the classics. The study of the contemporary texts and that of the ancient texts were two branches within the Confucian school. The truth was that most of the writings by the pre-Ch'in Confucian scholars had been burned or lost after the bock-burning in the Ch'in Dynasty. In the early Western Han period, what some Confucian scholars taught by word of mouth was recorded in the language prevalent at that time, and this became the "contemporary texts of classics." In the late Western Han period, a part of the Confucian classics were discovered, written in the ancient language popular in the Warring States period; these were known as the "ancient texts." In order to contend for and preserve their own academic and political positions, students of both branches had been quarrelling with each other. But some great teachers of the classics present at the Paihukuan Conference, whether they studied the contemporary or the ancient texts, were identical in propagating the ch'an-wei divinations. For instance, Ting Hung, an important figure among the students of the contemporary texts, talked volubly and bragged about himself at the conference. Later, in his memorials to the emperor, he made every effort to advocate the "interaction between Heaven and man" theory, saying that "when man on earth goes against the Way, the effects will be seen from Heaven." As a matter of fact, Ting Hung merely parroted Tung Chung-shu, for what he said contained nothing new. However, at that time he was regarded as "a man of top talent" in "explaining the truth."

Chia K'uei was a great teacher of the ancient texts at that time, but he also promoted ch'an-wei in order to please the emperor. Expectedly he was given an important position. Pan Ku, the author of "Pai Hu T'ung," was a student of the ancient texts who was obsessed with "the affairs of the world." Based on books of divinations, he had written a historical essay entitled "Tien Yin Pien" (典引篇), in which he dwelt on a lot of absurd religious ideas ranging from the opening up of the earth to the Paihukuan Conference. He showed that it was Heavenly will that Han should inherit Yao's traditions and that it was also by Heavenly order that Emperor Chang convened this conference. These facts suffice to show that the participants at the Paihukuan Conference were after official positions and emoluments and had degenerated into vulgar persons who did not have a sense of shame. Far from interpreting what they called classics, they were in fact creating a theoretical basis for the reactionary rule of the landlord class in a desperate effort to increase their political capital.

(II)

The Paihukuan Conference covered a wide range of subjects from the world of nature to social phenomena and from the political and economic systems to ideology, culture, customs and habits. "Pai Hu T'ung," as the summing up of this conference, further blended the Confucian classics and the five elements of Yin and Yang with ch'an-wei in the fashion of Tung Chung-shu's "Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn" It presented Confucius as a god, put Confucius' theories in the religious context, systematized the theories of the feudal system, and became a law code of the feudal ruling class in worshipping Confucius at that time.

The main gist of "Pai Hu T'ung" was worship of Confucius and return to propriety. "The people are forced to believe in what Confucius said as if it were religious dogma."

Confucius was actually a political swindler who had no actual learning at all. Yet at the Paihukuan Conference he was dressed up as a born sage who knew everything by some reactionary Confucian scholars who made use of the ch'an-wei superstitions. "Pai Hu T'ung" gave the following definition of the "sage": "How will you describe a sage? A sage knows everything. He knows the Way and he speaks up. Since he knows the Way, he can go anywhere and the road will be illuminated for him." It also said: "A sage can see things that other people cannot see. He communicates with with God. He is born of Heaven." This means that a sage is omnipotent. A sage can have rich transcendental knowledge, can foresee the future and can communicate with Heaven because he is born of Heaven. And Confucius was such a sage different from ordinary men. "Pai Hu T'ung" not only made Confucius a god but also sanctified his writings, saying that he wrote books by order of Heaven, that his views constituted the dominant ideas of the ruling classes in "setting a permanent example for future generations," and that they could not be disputed by anyone.

"To defend the ancients is to defend oneself." (Lu Hsun, "Think of It Suddenly," Huakai Collection") "Pai Hu T'ung" went all out to extol Confucius, the dead soul of history. As the book said, Confucius' purpose

in producing the classics was exclusively to make laws for the emperors of Han. Making laws meant "returning to propriety." "Pai Hu T'ung" explained "propriety" in these terms: "Propriety is set between Yin and Yang and joins up all things. Therefore, it calls for respect for heaven and earth, pacifying ghosts and spirits, observing the social distinctions and adjusting the way of man." It held that it was because such "propriety" existed that there were the noble and the lowly, those close to you and those distant to you, and rules governing the relationship between the old and the young. "When these three distinctions prevail, the Way of Reason will prevail." It can be seen that what it meant by "returning to propriety" was to restore and consolidate the feudal ruling order that had been disrupted by the Lulin and Ch'ihmei peasant wars and to strengthen the dictatorship of the landlord class over the peasant class.

The theoretical basis of "returning to propriety" in "Pai Hu T'ung" was the "theory of Heavenly mandate" or the theory of "unity between Heaven and man" passed down from Confucius to Tung Chung-shu. This reactionary, idealistic ideological system, like a sinister line, ran through the length of "Pai Hu T'ung," which devoted considerable space to repeatedly explaining with great patience: Heaven was a "mighty" god capable of dominating everything on earth. "The king, who rules the earth, is the Son of Heaven." As the Son of Heaven, the emperor received his mandate to rule "from Heaven, not from men." He was the representative of "Heaven" on earth. When he made mistakes, disasters would befall from Heaven as a warning to him so that he might correct his mistakes and do good things. When he did good work Heaven would bestow blessings on him as a reward. Thus, the authority of the king on earth was fortified by the divine authority on Heaven, and the sacred and inviolable legal position of the feudal rulers was confirmed.

In order to prove the rationality of feudal rule, "Pai Hu T'ung" illustrated a still closer integration of the natural with the social order. For instance, it said: "The Way of Heaven consists of three aspects: Heaven has three lights, the sun, the moon and the stars; the earth has three shapes, the highland, flatland and lowland; and man must respect his ruler, father and teacher." It also stated: "Why should the son obey his father, the subject obey his ruler, and the wife obey her husband? The reason is just as the earth obeys Heaven." "The earth supports Heaven as the wife serves her husband and the subject serves his ruler." In this way, the order of feudal rule governing the authority of the ruler, the father and the husband and the respect of the teacher was described as sacrosanct. "Pai Hu T'ung" also likened "the ruler having the masses of people" to "Heaven having the masses of stars." It compared the natural phenomenon--"the sun moves slowly and the moon moves quickly"--that can be seen by the human eye with the "comfort of the ruler and the labor of his subject" in order to show that the unequal relations between the ruler and subject and between the comfort of the ruler and the labor of his subject were compatible with the will of Heaven--this inequality was eternal just like the sun, the moon and the stars.

The basic content of "returning to propriety" in "Pai Hu T'ung" consists of the so-called "three cardinal rules" and "six regulations." The idea of "three cardinal rules" was already contained in Confucius

theory of "rectification of names." According to his theological theory of "the superior Yang [positive forces] and the inferior Yin [negative forces]," Tung Chung-shu compared the ruler, the father and the husband to Yang and the subject, the son and the wife to Yin, thus defining even more clearly the relationship between the superior and the inferior, the master and the servant, that is, between ruler and subject, father and son, and husband and wife. "Pai Hu T'ung" regarded the "three cardinal rules" as eternal ethical standards and the supreme political critieria. It formally proposed that "the ruler is the principal of his subject, the father is the principal of his son, and the husband is the principal of his wife," thereby making even more absolute the authority of the ruler, the father and the husband.

"Pai Hu T'ung" did not deal with the "three cardinal rules" on the same basis nor with each in an isolated manner. Instead, it looked upon the "three cardinal rules" governing the authority of the ruler, the father and the husband as a unified, organic whole, and put the "ruler is the principal of his subject" in the first position of the "three cardinal rules."

For the son to serve his father is same as for the subject to serve his ruler. "Pai Hu T'ung" proposed: "A subject serves his ruler just as the son serves his father." Its purpose in establishing the dignity of the father's authority was to lay the social and ethical basis for the inviolability of the authority of the ruler. Moreover, the authority of the father was related to the authority of the clan. The reason why "Pai Hu T'ung" repeatedly stressed the need to respect one's ancestors and "to serve people of the same clan" was to consolidate the political power of the feudal country through the patriarchal organization with a thousand ties. In Eastern Han big landlords were often also the patriarchs, with most of the peasants under them as members of their clans. Therefore, the clan authority was essentially the ruling authority of the landlord class which brutally exploited and oppressed the poor peasantry while wearing the sentimental patriarchal cloak.

"Pai Hu T'ung" also went all out to propagate the idea of the superior man and the inferior woman, basically denying the independent individuality of the woman. For instance, it said: "Women owe their existence to their husbands," that is, women must depend on their husbands in order to live. It also said: "Women mean obedience," in other words, women were born to wait on their husbands," that is, they were not allowed to take part in social activities. In addition, it explicitly proposed that women "have the obligation to obey their father before they are married, to obey their husband after they are married, and to obey their son after their husbands die." A man might use all sorts of excuses to "divorce his wife." But a woman, even if "her husband is an evil-doer," had no right to propose divorce because "the earth does not have the right to separate from Heaven." Thus in theory, women were placed at the lowest stratum, and apart from being oppressed by the religious, political and clan authority, they were bound by the masculine authority as well.

As for the "six regulations," "Pai Hu T'ung" had this to say: "The six regulations concern fathers, brothers, clansmen, brothers-in-law, teachers and friends." All these social relationships, like the "three

cardinal rules," were relationships between the superior and the inferior, the high and the low. These relationships were at once an extension and expansion of, and served, the "three cardinal rules." Therefore, "Pai Hu T'ung" said of these rules and regulations: "What are these rules and regulations? The rules are like a net and the regulations are like tackles. The net opens and the tackles fall into line--this is the way of man." In order to sanctify the ruling order of such feudal, patriarchal society, it further elaborated on the theme on the basis of Tung Chung-shu's idealistic, metaphysical theory that "the three cardinal rules of the kingly way can be sought from Heaven." It set forth the theory that "the three cardinal rules govern Heaven, earth and man, and the six regulations govern the six human relationships." As a result, it raised the "three cardinal rules" and "six regulations" defending the feudal ruling order to a sacred and inviolable position where they were as important as the laws of the universe.

In short, "Pai Hu T'ung" was a complete book of reactionary feudal laws compiled under the guidance of a dual ideology which Confucianized theology and also deified the Confucian classics. It interpreted all political institutions and moral concepts of feudal society in terms of the idealist, theological world outlook of the Confucian school in order to prove the rationality and eternity of the religious authority and the authority of the ruler, the father and the husband under feudal rule and to enable "people to recognize the proper relationships between ruler and subject and father and son and know the way to avoid evil and return to the correct path." ("Stories of Confucian Scholars, History of Later Han") In essence, its aim was to use these four kinds of authority as ropes to tie up the peasants and to maintain the dictatorship of the landlord class.

(III)

All culture "belongs to a definite class and is geared to a given political line." The task of the Paihukuan Conference and "Pai Hu T'ung" was to further remodel and reconstruct the Confucian ideas originated by Confucius in order to make them render better service to the landlord-class dictatorship.

The transformation of the Confucian ideology as the ideology of the declining slave-owning class into that of the landlord class had taken a fairly long time. In the process, the Paihukuan Conference played a crucial role. Although Tung Chung-shu of Western Han had long ago made the proposal for "banning all schools of thought except Confucianism," the monopolistic status of the Confucians was not formally established until after the Paihukuan Conference. With governmental backing the Paihukuan Conference turned Confucius into a god and institutionalized the Confucian ideology. The Legalist and other progressive ideas were without exception rejected as "perverse doctrines." Lu Hsün said: "After the Han Dynasty, all media were monopolized by the 'professional Confucians.'" ("My View on Chastity") The establishment of the dominant position of Confucian ideology meant that the landlord class had strengthened its dictatorship over the broad masses of the laboring people in the superstructure of feudal society; at the same time, it also indicated that the landlord class had further inclined toward conservatism and reaction.

From Confucius to Tung Chung-shu and then to the Paihukuan Conference, an extremely reactionary ideological line which was idealistic in nature was formed in China's ideological history. It was also a reactionary political line which opposed reform and upheld regression. This line not only met the needs of the big landlord class of Eastern Han but also met the needs of all reactionary classes and reactionaries after the Han Dynasty. It was in accordance with this idealist line that Chu Hsi, the faithful apologist of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in the Sung Dynasty, founded a complicated reactionary philosophical system--the school of reason. Taking the Paihukuan Conference as the example and the viewpoint of "Pai Hu T'ung" as the basis, he produced a set of "Annotations of the Four Books" and vigorously propagated that the "three cardinal rules" and "six regulations" were "perfect" "reasons of Heaven." "The fixed positions for the ruler and subject, the father and son are unchangeable." This reflected the death-bed struggle by the landlord class in this period in stubbornly defending the crumbling feudal system. In modern times Tseng Kuo-fan, Chiang Kai-shek and other extremely ferocious butchers also sought their ideological weapons from "Pai Hu T'ung." Tseng Kuo-fan cried aloud: "The superior position of the ruler and father and the inferior position of the subject and son are like the hats and shoes which cannot be confused." ("Declaration on Suppression of Bandits in Kwangtung") Chiang Kai-shek said that the Confucian classics "turned into a lofty system after they were taught and explained by the Han Confucians." ("China's Destiny") They made use of the "three cardinal rules" and "six regulations" to oppose and suppress the people's revolutions.

Closely following the footprints of the reactionaries in history, the chieftains of the opportunist lines within the Party fanatically promoted the worship of Confucius and return to propriety in the fashion of the Paihukuan Conference. The "Confucius Seminar," held under the auspices of the bourgeois headquarters led by Liu Shao-ch'i in the early 1960's, was essentially a modern "Paihukuan Conference." Hiding in a dark corner, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was engaged in the compilation of "Sayings of Four Books" in order to prepare the theoretical basis for their usurpation of power and restoration of the old order. The "theory of innate genius" they preached was the same as the "theory of Heavenly mandate" and the "theory of unity of Heaven and man" trumpeted at the Paihukuan Conference. The reactionary fallacy that "the mandate was received from Heaven" they peddled was also taken intact from "Pai Hu T'ung." "Pai Hu T'ung" made use of the divinations to deify Confucius, and Lin Piao claimed to be a "genius" and "super-genius" for the purpose of presenting himself as a Heaven-born "sage" like Confucius. Therefore, the "theory of innate genius," preached by Lin Piao, that man's knowledge and ability were innate, was not merely out-and-out idealist transcendentalism but also carried a heavy religious flavor. By trumpeting this theory, they vainly attempted to cheat the masses of the people, usurp the Party's leadership and seize the power of the State, and set up a fascist rule of the Lin family kingdom. History abounds in similar shocking incidents. Using history as a mirror will help us see clearly the ultra-Right essence of the revisionist line pushed by Lin Piao.

From Tung Chung-shu's "Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn" to "Pai Hu T'ung" as the summary of the Paihukuan Conference, from Chu Hsi's "Annotations of Four Books" to the Lin Piao anti-Party clique's "Sayings of Four Books," the Confucian classics have been annotated and improved again and again. The aim has always been to attempt to serve their reactionary political lines through the work of annotating and editing Confucian classics. This historical fact demonstrates profoundly that the work of annotation has all along been not only a purely academic question or a question of semantics or editing several books. Rather, it is replete with the violent class struggle and two-line struggle. Our current countrywide efforts to annotate and study Legalist works are a concrete indication of the further development of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. They are also a major task of the socialist revolution in the superstructure. With Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the guide, we must seriously sum up the historical experiences of the Confucian-Legalist struggle and of class struggle as a whole and thoroughly criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. We must criticize the reactionary ideas of honoring Confucianism and opposing Legalism as espoused by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, and criticize revisionism. We must let Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought dominate the entire superstructure including philosophy, history, education, literature, the arts and jurisprudence, and work for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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A Creation by the Contingent of Worker Theorists

- An investigation report on Hungch'i Shipyard, Talien

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, Oct. 1, 1974)

During the struggle of criticizing Lin Piao and rectifying work style and of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, the contingent of worker theorists of Hungch'i Shipyard, Talien--for the purpose of mastering the ideological weapon of Marxism and penetratingly criticizing Lin Piao's revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius--has extensively carried out theoretical research on different subjects. This creation by the worker comrades gives a great impetus to the development of revolution and production throughout the shipyard.

Research on different subjects carried out by the contingent of worker theorists of the shipyard took shape and developed on the basis of mass study and criticism. After the 9th Party Congress, a number of workers' spare-time theoretical study groups emerged in the shipyard, carrying out spare-time theoretical studies and gradually forming a workers' contingent of Marxist theorists. They led the masses to diligently study the works by Marx and Lenin and by Chairman Mao and to carry out revolutionary mass criticism, thereby bringing about a scene of surging vigor and vitality in the whole shipyard. "When the tide is high, the boat rises with it." With the revolutionary mass criticism developed in depth and the ideological and theoretical level of the masses raised, particularly after the initiation of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, greater demands have been placed on the contingent of worker theorists. What should be done to enable the worker theorists to better meet the needs of the developing objective situation? This is an important problem facing the Party committee and the broad masses of workers and staff members of Hungch'i Shipyard.

When the spare-time theoretical study group of the tools workshop criticized Lin Piao's crimes in trumpeting "genuine socialism" and frenziedly attempting to restore capitalism, everyone was filled with indignation. But, they could not explain theoretically at that moment the reactionary and deceitful nature of "genuine socialism." Thereupon, the comrades of the spare-time theoretical study group delved with emphasis into the Marxist theory on scientific socialism, studying such works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao as "Communist Manifesto," "Critique of the Gotha Program" and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." Drawing on the historical experience of the struggle between scientific socialism and phoney socialism of various brands in the past century and more, they built up their ability to discern and criticize false socialism, pulling down the banner of "socialism" hoisted by Lin Piao and seeing through his sinister aim of passing false things off for true ones and restoring capitalism. They came to understand that "genuine socialism" advocated by Lin Piao was nothing but a reprint under new historical conditions of "reactionary socialism," which had already been totally discredited by Marx and Engels, and it was the same as the phoney communism peddled by Khrushchev, Brezhnev and their ilk.

The experience acquired by this tools workshop enlightened the Party committee of the shipyard to the effect that Lin Piao's revisionist

line has its reactionary theoretical foundation and ideological roots, influencing all spheres of the superstructure. The proletariat must, in the course of struggle, conscientiously study and master the three component parts of Marxism before it can completely criticize this revisionist line at its source. So, in due respect for the initiative of the workers and guided by the prevailing situation, they adopted a "Decision on Vigorously Training a Contingent of Worker Theorists" in May 1973, pointing out that a contingent of worker theorists must, on the basis of further unfolding the mass study and criticism, develop in the direction of carrying out theoretical research on different subjects. This was followed by the setting up of ten research groups dealing separately with philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism, the history of the Chinese Communist Party, the history of Chinese philosophy, the history of European philosophy, and dialectics of nature. Since the beginning of this year, inspired by the excellent situation of continued deepening of the countrywide struggle of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, the number of theoretical research groups has increased to 39. For the past year, in the light of the needs of the struggle for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, they proposed and researched 35 subjects, published in newspapers and periodicals 113 articles, held more than ten report meetings, and gave more than 1,560 theoretical lectures to the workers and staff members of the whole shipyard. Besides, workers of some research groups have gone out and ascended the teaching platform in universities as well as delivering lectures in the Luta Municipal Library. Others have been engaged as part-time university lecturers.

Practice shows that theoretical research on different subjects conducted by the contingent of worker theorists yields many advantages, the principal ones being as follows:

First, conducting research on different subjects, members of the contingent of worker theorists can put stress on one subject while carrying out extensive study and research, so as to study Marxism more systematically and penetratingly. This will help workers and staff members of the whole shipyard to raise their theoretical level and master the weapon for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius more quickly. Since July of last year, the political economy research group has studied such works as "Introduction to 'Critique of Political Economy,'" "Wage Labor and Capital" and "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism." In criticizing Lin Piao's crimes in patterning himself after Confucius, advocating "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and restoring capitalism, its members applied the Marxist theory on surplus value in investigating the brutal exploitation of workers by capitalists before the liberation. For instance, Went'ien Iron Works, Talien, produced steel balls of 60 millimeters in diameter. The owner acquired 48 yuan net from each worker daily after deducting all production expenses on consumption of raw and semi-finished materials, machinery depreciation and wages. But a worker could get not more than five cents a day, and could only feed on coarse millet and flour and salted vegetables. From this comparison between 48 yuan and 5 cents showing a high rate of surplus value, the group members saw more clearly the evils of the capitalist system and understood that the proletariat and the bourgeoisie

were opposed to each other and that "the destruction of the bourgeoisie and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable." This aroused the proletarian indignation of the broad masses and, on the basis of combining theory with practice, made them see more clearly the ultra-Right essence of Lin Piao's revisionist line and his crimes in wildly pulling back the wheel of history and restoring capitalism. Recently, again applying the Marxist principle on the relations between productive forces and production relations and the mutual relations between the economic base and the superstructure, they studied Huan K'uan's "On Salt and Iron" and analyzed the reactionary essence of the clamor for "discontinuing government monopoly of salt and iron and returning them to the people" made by the restorationist forces of the declining slave owners and their spokesmen the Confucianists during the middle West Han period as well as the tit-for-tat struggle waged by Sang Hung-yang, a representative of the emerging landlord class and a prominent Legalist. Based on the historical experience of the struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools two thousand years ago, they penetratingly criticized Lin Piao's crimes in waving the banner of "a rich people and a powerful nation" while dreaming of restoring capitalism. They felt that conducting research on different subjects helped one study more intensively and advance in the direction of "being capable at many jobs while being versed in one." As far as the whole shipyard is concerned, this will broaden the scope of research and raise the theoretical level more quickly.

Second, through research on different subjects, it is possible to better solve the ideological and theoretical problems raised by the masses during the struggle for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, so that theoretical research may serve real class struggle. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is a political and ideological struggle through which Marxism will defeat revisionism and the proletariat the bourgeoisie. Some new problems may be encountered as the movement deepens one step further. Active on the first line of the three great revolutionary movements, the various groups carrying out research on different subjects are careful to analyze the trends and study problems, proceeding from every angle to study and solve them. For instance, when the masses of workers applied the Marxist viewpoint in studying the history of struggle between Confucianism and Legalism, they heard this: "This struggle between Confucianism and Legalism is nothing but a struggle between fed dogs and hungry ones within an exploiting class, particularly so during the middle and final stages of this struggle." Comrades doing "research on the history of philosophy" in the valve workshop, "research on the history of struggle between Confucianism and Legalism" in the hull workshop, and "research on political economy" in the dynamics section all held that people saying this lacked concrete analysis. Hence, citing Wang An-shih's reform during the Northern Sung, they conducted research by applying the historical-materialist viewpoint and came to understand that even the Confucian-Legalist struggle within the landlord class during its middle and final stages still implied two-line struggle between reform and conservatism and between patriotism and national betrayal. Only by grasping this problem will it be possible to correctly appraise the progressive role played by the Legalists in history and to scientifically sum up the experience of the historical class struggle. At report meetings held in the shipyard, they talked about what they had learned from their research by linking it with the current class struggle and two-line

struggle. This aroused strong response. Taking action positively, the broad masses applied the Marxist viewpoint in reading the Legalist works, criticizing the Confucian writings and studying the history of struggle between these two schools. More than 700 persons have spoken at big and small meetings held in the shipyard. Liu Hsien, an old worker who had received only three years of schooling, spent 14 nights studying "On Reading the Chronological History of China and Ch'in Shih Huang" written by Wang Fu-chih. He wrote a lecture which he delivered at meetings inside and outside the shipyard. He fully reaffirmed the historical achievements made by Ch'in Shih Huang and criticized the sinister intentions of Lin Piao and all reactionaries at home and abroad in vilifying Ch'in Shih Huang. He presented his clearcut viewpoint in simple language, to the delight of the workers. Once, when he had delivered his lecture, a worker firmly grasped his hand and said excitedly: "Worker Master Liu, your lecture is really fine. We workers should talk like that once we ascend the rostrum to talk about history!"

Third, through conducting research on different subjects, we can, in light of reality, take a long-range view, make overall plans and all-round arrangements, divide the contingent of worker theorists into several branches to march on various spheres of the superstructure. The "Dream of the Red Chamber" research group of this shipyard was set up relatively long ago. In September, 1972, at report meetings on studying the "Dream of the Red Chamber" held at the Luta Municipal Library, it made three reports refuting the various kinds of fallacies spread by the "Red-ologists" of the landlord and bourgeois classes and stressing the necessity to apply the viewpoint of class struggle in studying the "Dream" Besides, the literary creation group composed and staged vocal and instrumental musical performances and dramas criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius on ship decks and in workshops and workers' dormitories. It also organized the workers and staff members to criticize old dramas disseminating the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius.

The fine art creation group drew more than 100 pictures and posters on themes of ship builders grasping revolution and production, and displayed them in the art gallery. Eighteen of these pictures were entered in the Workers' Pictorial Exhibition held in Peking. Since September of last year, comrades of the "research on dialectics of nature" group have persevered in the study of Engel's "Dialectics of Nature." Some workers, cadres and technicians have joined up to apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method in summing up the rich practical experiences the broad masses have gained in breaking with fetishes and superstitions, liberating the mind, displaying the spirit of independence and self-reliance and developing the shipbuilding industry. On this basis, they have compiled such books as "New Techniques of Mold-less Dynamiting and Processing," "Technology of Riveting" and "Technology of a Fitter," which have been or are being published.

The reason why research on different subjects by the contingent of worker theorists in Hungch'i Shipyard have been carried out perseveringly in the correct direction is that, apart from the fact that Party organizations at all levels in the shipyard have strengthened their leadership and closely linked this activity with the actual class struggle and two-line struggle and thus propelled the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the following two problems have been attended to:

First, in carrying out theoretical research on different subjects, it is necessary to persist in the three-in-one combination of leading cadres, theoretical research activists and the masses. Chairman Mao teaches: "However active the leading group may be, its activity will amount to fruitless effort by a handful of people unless combined with the activity of the masses. On the other hand, if the masses alone are active without a strong leading group to organize their activity properly, such activity cannot be sustained for long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a higher level." The leading cadres at all levels in the shipyard have first intensified their own study of the works by Marx and Lenin and Chairman Mao's works and have actively led and participated in researches under different subjects. At the same time, research on different subjects conducted by the contingent of worker theorists and the study of the masses has given a great impetus to the leading cadres at all levels. The contingent of worker theorists constantly operates at the primary level, turns to the masses, persists in the policy of "from the masses, back to the masses," and perseveringly upholds the principle of raising the standard on the basis of popularization and popularization based on raising the standard. Members of various research groups have taken an active part in the study and criticisms of the masses. On the one hand, they analyze the difficult problems met by the masses in the course of study and criticism, propose major topics for research, and explain their achievements in research to the masses in plain language, so everyone can achieve as much. On the other hand, they pay attention to learning from the masses and taking in political nutrition from them. When criticizing Lin Piao's bourgeois line in military affairs, the comrades of the research group of the turbogenerator workshop have studied Chairman Mao's military writings, including "The Present Situation and Our Tasks" and "The Concept of Operations for the Liaohsi-Shenyang Campaign," and talked with the old workers who took part in the Liaohsi-Shenyang campaign. At the same time, they helped these workers grasp the weapon of criticism, and together with them, analyzed the military situation in the Northeast and furnished them with material relevant to the Liaohsi-Shenyang campaign. Thus everyone further appreciated Chairman Mao's military line and, combining theory with practice, criticized Lin Piao's ploys in undermining the war to liberate the Northeast. They unmasked Lin Piao who claimed to be "a military genius" and "an invincible general," and wrote an article entitled "Lin Piao's Political Right-deviating Capitulationism as Seen from His Military Conservatism."

Second, research on different subjects must be conducted during spare time. Members of the research groups must not divorce themselves from production and must strive to prove themselves "capable both culturally and technically." They also must act not only as models in theoretical study and pace-setters in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, but also as path-breakers in production. To conduct research under different subjects is an arduous task involving more energies and time. Members of the research groups realize that their task is entrusted by the working class. While fighting for the realization of the great historical task of the proletariat and doing their duties well in consciously and perseveringly grasping revolution and promoting production, they must display the spirit of a "cog" and make full use of all their spare time to study revolutionary theories. The broad masses warmly support the workers engaged in research on

different subjects. Two workers of the No. 6 machinery squad of the valve workshop who took part in theoretical research sometimes had to do theoretical research during working hours. Seeing this, other workers took over from them and made concerted efforts to increase production with reduced manpower. Deeply touched, these two comrades studied doubly hard in the group. Seventy-five percent of the members of the research group of this workshop are advanced producers. Praising them, the workers say: "Our theoretical contingent not only studies Marxism-Leninism well, but also is top-notch in work."

"Once theory is mastered by the masses, it will turn into a material force." "Matter may turn into spirit, and vice versa." Having unfolded research on different subjects, the contingent of worker theorists in Hungch'i Shipyard has raised its level of Marxist theory, and the mass study movement has made greater headway. Diligent study, conscientious research and daring to tackle actual difficult problems have become a common practice among the masses, exerting a marked effect on the widespread, penetrating and sustained development of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. This has also given an impetus to the development of revolution and production throughout the shipyard. The broad masses of workers, cadres and technicians have displayed greater revolutionary vigor in work and made greater contributions toward socialist construction. The theoretical research group of the propeller workshop, together with the broad masses, applying "On Practice," successfully tested a new technique of residue-less forging of the blades of a huge propeller of an advanced standard. The theoretical research group of the copper workshop, applying the ideas contained in "On Contradiction," accomplished "comprehensive design" of pipelines together with the masses. Recently, while building "Tach'ing No. 61," China's first 24,000-ton oil tanker, the shipyard studied the ties between worship of Confucius and servility to things foreign, penetratingly criticizing Lin Piao's and Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist lines, comprador philosophy and mentality of trailing behind at a snail's pace, and further criticizing the fallacy that "building a ship is no better than buying one, and buying one is no better than chartering one." As a result, the tanker was completed in only eight months, much sooner than the past. By the end of August, the shipyard had already accomplished 72.6 percent of its annual state plan, being 8.4 percent higher than in the corresponding period last year.

Both the worker theorists and the masses of workers and staff members of Hungch'i Shipyard are of the view that they have only taken the first step in conducting research on different subjects. They are resolved, following the great leader Chairman Mao's teaching "Read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism," to strive to scale the pinnacle of theory in close conjunction with the reality of the three great revolutionary movements, to carry the struggle of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius through to the end, and to win still greater victories in grasping revolution and promoting production.

Investigation Team of CCP Luta Municipal Committee and reporters of Liaoning Jih-pao

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Unity Is to the Basic Guarantee for Victory

by

Kan Ko (甘戈)

ung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, Oct. 1, 1974)

Our great motherland has triumphantly concluded 25 years of brilliant fighting on the road of socialism. During the past 25 years, led by the great leader Chairman Mao and the CCP and guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the people of all nationalities in our country have triumphed over disturbance and sabotage caused by class enemies both at home and abroad, surmounted difficulties, and won great victories in socialist revolution and construction. Practice in struggle has made us well aware that unity of the whole Party, the whole army and all the people of the whole country is the basic guarantee for victory.

Persisting in unity and opposing a split is a fundamental Marxist principle. According to Marxism, only by emancipating the whole of mankind can the proletariat achieve its own emancipation. The proletariat should not only strengthen its own class unity, it should also form a wide-ranging militant alliance with the vast numbers of revolutionary people, unite with everyone who can be united with, and isolate the handful of class enemies to the fullest extent. Engels said: "To carry out struggle, we must concentrate all our forces and concentrate them on the same point of attack." The proletarian revolution, which represents the basic interests and aspirations of the broad masses, can mobilize thousands upon thousands of people and plunge them into the fighting ranks. Therefore, the proletariat can and can unite the overwhelming majority of the masses around itself and inspire them to fight for a single revolutionary goal.

The handful of domestic and international class enemies are not reconciled to the victory of socialism in China. To subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, they will resort to every means to split our Party and our country. The four major struggles between the two lines experienced by our Party since the founding of the People's Republic of China have all been struggles for upholding Marxism and against revisionism, for persisting in unity and opposing a split. For our Party is a great party armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, our country is a great socialist country based on the dictatorship of the proletariat, our army is a great army founded and commanded personally by Chairman Mao, and our people are a great people long tempered in revolutionary struggle. That is why the chieftains of the revisionist line--Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao--could not succeed in their splittist conspiracies but met with ignominious defeat. As a result of the struggle against the revisionist line, our Party has become more united and stronger than ever, and our Party members, cadres and people have raised their awareness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, seeing more and more clearly the importance of strengthening their revolutionary unity.

To consolidate and strengthen the unity of the whole Party and through this to achieve the unity of the whole class and the whole nation is a major guarantee for implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is the lifeline of our Party and the basis for strengthening our revolutionary unity. Only under the guidance of this line can revolutionary unity be developed and strengthened. And the implementation of the correct line also depends on the revolutionary unity of the whole Party and the people throughout the country. Lenin pointed out: "A perfect unity of the militant proletariat is absolutely necessary either for achieving the ultimate goal as early as possible or for carrying out unswerving political and economic struggles based on the current social situation." Without unity of the Party and people, it is impossible to do a good job of implementing the correct Party line. Persistence in revolutionary line is connected with persistence in revolutionary unity. Chairman Mao has always considered Party unity to be a major aspect of the struggle between the two lines within the Party. After the Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance was smashed, the Party Central Committee adopted a "Resolution on Strengthening Party Unity," stressing that Party unity was the lifeblood of the Party and that to disrupt Party unity was to endanger its life. The first of the six criteria which Chairman Mao put forward in 1957 for distinguishing fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds is that "[words and deeds] must be conducive to uniting the people of all nationalities across the country, instead of dividing them." At the climax of the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out: "There is no conflict of fundamental interests within the working class. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat there is no reason whatsoever for the working class to split into two big irreconcilable groupings." He thus led the working class and the broad revolutionary masses to fight the enemy in unity. After shattering the Liu Shao-ch'i renegade clique, during the 9th Party Congress Chairman Mao called on the whole Party to "unite to win still greater victories!" Again, in the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao summed up the experience in previous struggles between the two lines and put forward the basic principles of "three do's and three don'ts," taking "unite, and don't split" as a mark distinguishing between the correct and erroneous lines. Practice in the struggle of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius indicates that when we comply with Chairman Mao's teachings, correctly handle the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and the contradictions among the people, and continue to consolidate and strengthen our revolutionary unity, the fighting strength of the revolutionary ranks will increase 10 or even 100 times, and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the Party's principles and policies will be carried out successfully. This will result in vigorous development of both revolution and production. But if revolutionary unity is weakened, there will be an adverse effect on the fighting strength of the revolutionary ranks, the class enemy will take the opportunity to make trouble and carry out sabotage, it will be impossible to implement the Party's line and policies properly, and both revolution and production will suffer.

The question of unity is first of all a question of making a clear distinction between the enemy and ourselves. In "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels pointed out: "The proletarian movement is an independent

movement of the great majority of people in their own interests." The dictatorship of the proletariat is a dictatorship of the majority over the minority, unprecedented in human history. The broadest and firmest foundation of this dictatorship is the backing of tens of millions of people with the workers, peasants and soldiers as the main force. Only by closely relying on the people can we carry out the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in every basic-level unit. In the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we must resolve to unite more than 95 percent of the masses and cadres, mobilize all positive factors, and do our best to turn all passive factors into active ones, in order to roundly criticize and discredit Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius--the ideology of the reactionary and declining classes--and to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat in all spheres of the superstructure.

Revolutionary unity is realized through struggle. To constantly strengthen the unity of revolutionary ranks, it is necessary to criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie, clear away all non-proletarian ideas and anti-Marxist viewpoints that erode revolutionary ranks, and make a distinction politically and ideologically between the correct and erroneous lines. Revisionism is the political-ideological source of splittism, which in turn is the expression of revisionism in organization. The danger of division will remain so long as revisionism remains. Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao preached the "theory of inner-Party peace" and the "doctrine of the human" simply in order to make us give up our struggle against revisionism so that they could engage in counter-revolutionary conspiracies. The unity of revolutionary ranks can be strengthened only by roundly criticizing the revisionist line and the bourgeoisie, persistently continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, politically and ideologically rooting out the foundation of splittism, conscientiously summing up the positive and negative experience, and increasing our awareness of maintaining revolutionary unity. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we must fully mobilize the Party members, cadres and masses to read and study seriously and launch mass revolutionary criticism in a thoroughgoing way so as to further recognize the ultra-Right essence of Lin Piao's revisionist line, draw a distinction between the correct and erroneous lines, enable the whole part to unite more closely on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Making a strict distinction between and correctly handling the two different types of contradictions, especially correctly handling the contradictions among the people, is of vital importance in consolidating and developing the great revolutionary unity. Negating the existence of contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society is a revisionist, metaphysical viewpoint. This incorrect viewpoint was criticized by Chairman Mao in his article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People." Two different types of contradictions exist in our country. This is an objective fact. We should deal with them carefully in accordance with the Party's policies. Only in this way can we distinguish between the enemy and ourselves, unite our comrades, and attack the enemy. Chairman

Mao points out: "The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature or controversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression." In the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we should adopt the democratic method and the methods of discussion and persuasion to solve the ideological contradictions among the people. It is natural that people hold different views on some problems. We should, through seriously studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, unify the different views step by step on the basis of deepening our understanding and making a clear distinction between right and wrong. Even when we cannot immediately unify our different views on some problems, we should, in the interest of the general revolutionary situation, seek common ground on major points while reserving differences of opinion on minor points, unite against the common enemy, and do a good job of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius deeply. If we get involved in minor issues and fail to pay sufficient attention to major issues of the line, or if we relax criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and adopt incorrect or improper methods in handling the contradictions among the people, this will give the class enemy an opportunity to split the revolutionary ranks and sabotage revolutionary unity to the detriment of our revolutionary cause.

Over the past decades, our Party has adopted the method of "unity--criticism--unity" to correctly handle the contradictions among the people with good results. "Our present task is to continue to popularize and make use of this method among the people." As to those comrades who have committed more or less mistakes in the struggle between the two lines, we should conscientiously carry out the principle "learn from the past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "cure the sickness to save the patient." This principle indicates the high-principled nature of our Party and its responsibility and deep concern for those comrades who have erred. Chairman Mao points out: "So long as a person who has made mistakes does not hide his sickness for fear of treatment nor persist in his mistakes until he is beyond cure, so long as he honestly and sincerely wishes to be cured and to mend his ways, we should welcome him and cure his sickness so that he can become a good comrade." As to the comrades who have committed mistakes, we should warmly help them, and adopting the "see, then help" attitude, give them an opportunity to check and correct their mistakes and to unite with them for working together. Of course, only by learning from past mistakes can we avoid future ones, and only by curing the sickness can we save the patient. It is completely correct and necessary for the masses to criticize cadres who have committed mistakes. But it is completely wrong that we should feel unhappy about the criticism of the masses and provoke conflicts among the masses. Every comrade should correctly deal with the great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses and himself, resolve to strengthen revolutionary unity, and do a better job in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius.

We have made great achievements in our socialist cause, but our future tasks are even more arduous. Chairman Mao points out: "The struggle to consolidate the socialist system in our country and to settle the issue of who will win, socialism or capitalism, will take a very long historical period." To persistently continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must, under the leadership of the CCP Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, further strengthen the unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities across the country. Whether in the Party, the government and the army or among the people and students, in the east, west, south, north or central, it is the Party that exercises overall leadership. "If Communists unite together for the common aim, all strong enemies and difficult circumstances will yield to us." For us, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, unite the whole Party, all the people of our country, and all forces that can be united, and strive for building a great socialist China.

* * *

Further Strengthen the Great Unity of All Nationalities Across the Country

by

Hsia P'ing (夏平)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, Oct. 1, 1974)

Under the current excellent situation at home and abroad, the people of all nationalities in our country, filled with revolutionary pride, are warmly celebrating the red-letter day marking the unity and victory of the people of all nationalities--the 25th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

Ours is a multi-national country, where the laboring people of all nationalities have all along had a strong desire for unity and solidarity as well as fine traditions. But in the dark old society, the unification of the country and the unity of all nationalities were constantly sabotaged by the reactionaries at home and abroad. Only in the new society where the laboring people have become masters of the house have the laboring people of all nationalities realized their wishes. As Chairman Mao pointed out: "From the very day the Chinese People's Republic was founded, the various nationalities in China began to form a great community of friendship and cooperation." Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the people of all nationalities across the country jointly embarked on the broad socialist path after the democratic reform. Thanks to 25 years of fighting in unity by the people of all nationalities, the socialist cause has been triumphantly advancing everywhere. In the vast regions of national minorities, the socialist political, economic, cultural and other undertakings have developed thrivingly. Our great socialist mother country has been built into a socialist state on the road toward prosperity. Gone are the days when our country was divided and the Chinese people were bullied and humiliated. Especially since the great proletarian cultural revolution began, the consciousness of the people of all nationalities in the country in the struggle between the two lines has continued to rise, their revolutionary unity has developed and their socialist enthusiasm has soared still higher. The dictatorship of the proletariat has been more consolidated. These are important signs of our booming revolutionary cause.

To strengthen the unity of all nationalities--this is the great leader Chairman Mao's consistent idea and an important part of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In leading the people of all nationalities of our country in the protracted revolutionary struggle, Chairman Mao has all along attached extreme importance to the problem of strengthening national unity. In the various historical periods in the development of the Chinese revolution, when setting revolutionary tasks, he has always stressed the need to strengthen national unity. While summing up revolutionary experience, he has always summed up the valuable experience of the great unity of the people of all nationalities of our country. He has set for our Party a series of guidelines and policies for correctly handling relations between

various nationalities, thereby guiding the people of all nationalities to jointly turn against the common enemy and to advance from victory to victory. Chairman Mao says: "The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities--these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause." In order to consolidate and develop the great unity of the people of all nationalities in our country in the course of socialist revolution and socialist construction, Chairman Mao put before the whole Party and the people of the whole country the question of correctly handling the national relations as an important one in correctly handling the contradictions among the people. "[Words and deeds are] conducive to uniting the people of all nationalities in the country, instead of dividing them" he regarded as the first of the six criteria for judging the right from the wrong in words and deeds in the political life of the Chinese people, a criterion he urged the whole Party and the people of all nationalities in the country to observe. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao has summed up the historical experience in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and criticized Lin Piao's revisionist line. "Unite, don't split" he regarded as one of the three basic principles we must adhere to, and urged it on the whole Party and the people of the whole country. We should make an effort to study a series of important directives issued by Chairman Mao on strengthening the revolutionary unity of the people of all nationalities, seriously sum up experience, and continue to consolidate and develop this great unity.

The great unity of the people of all nationalities in our country--unity based on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line--is a basic guarantee for victory. The history of our ever victorious revolutionary struggle is a history of united struggle by the people of all nationalities. What did we rely on in overthrowing the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism which weighed on all people in China? How was the great People's Republic of China founded? We relied on the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and on the strength of the people across the country fighting in unity under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. It was because the people of all nationalities, led by Chairman Mao and the Communist Party and persisting in unity and opposing a split, persisting in progress and opposing regression, formed a broad anti-Japanese national united front that we defeated the Japanese imperialists and then overthrew the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang government and founded the new China. As Chairman Mao pointed out: "Victory of China's new democratic revolution is impossible without the broadest united front covering the greater part of the population of the whole nation." Since the founding of the PRC, every victory won in socialist revolution and socialist construction has been due to the fact that the unity of the people of all nationalities in the whole country has been strengthened and their wisdom and strength developed under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. By relying on this strength, we have triumphantly carried out the great proletarian cultural revolution, smashed the two bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and further consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat. The historical experience shows that without the great unity of the people of all nationalities in our country, the revolution would not have been victorious, socialist construction would not have developed vigorously, and the people of all nationalities would not have common prosperity. By continuing to

consolidate and develop this unity, we shall be able to win still greater victories in socialist revolution and construction.

To uphold unity or practice division on the national question has always involved a heated struggle between the two classes and two lines. In order to maintain the system of exploitation as well as their reactionary rule over the laboring people, one of the political tactics all reactionary classes and reactionaries in history adopted was to drive a wedge between various nationalities, create disputes between them, and disrupt national unity. Whether we want unity and unification was precisely one of the important problems of the class struggle and the struggle between Confucian and Legalist lines in Chinese history. All imperialists who had vainly tried to gobble up our country used the counter-revolutionary tactic of "divide and rule" so as to wreck the unity of the people of all nationalities. The social-imperialists regard national splittist activities as a means of vainly attempting to dismember our great socialist mother country. The many opportunist chieftains within the Party have all engaged in splitting activities. This is also true of the renegade and traitor Lin Piao and his sworn partners. They knew that the great unity of the people of all nationalities is a powerful force in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and a great obstacle standing in the way of their imitating Confucius' "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and seeking regression, restoration and capitulation. Therefore, they regarded the disruption of Party unity, the unity of the revolutionary ranks and the unity of all nationalities as a part of the revisionist line. Theirs is a counter-revolutionary conspiratorial clique seeking to split the Party, divide the country, and wreck national unity. But the unification of the country and the unity of the various nationalities are what the people desire and stand for the general trends which can in no way be undermined by any reactionary force. The smashing of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique is another proof of the impregnable unity of the people of all nationalities in our country. It can be expected that through the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and through summing up the historical experience of struggle between Confucianism and Legalism and of class struggle as a whole, the great revolutionary unity of the people of all nationalities will surely gain greater development.

To thoroughly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and to continue to consolidate and develop the revolutionary unity of all nationalities is in line with the fundamental interests of the laboring people of all nationalities. Chairman Mao has taught us: "national struggle, in the final analysis, is a question of class struggle." In class society, any nationality is divided into classes. The capitalists, landlords and slave-owners are always the minority, while the workers, peasants, serfs and other laboring people account for over 90 percent of the population. The laboring people of all nationalities are class brothers, having a common enemy, a common objective and common interests. They have the same direction for struggle. When we discuss revolutionary unity of the people of all nationalities, we mean to rally the people of all nationalities closely around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, resolutely carry out the Party's basic line, adhere to the socialist road, and persist in continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. "Unite for one purpose, that is, to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat." The current criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is a

political and ideological struggle in the superstructure in which Marxism will prevail over revisionism and the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. This is a matter of top importance to the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country in opposing and preventing revisionism, and is a common task for the people of all nationalities. On the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we must unite the people of all nationalities more closely to face the common enemy and unfold the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a widespread, penetrating and sustained manner.

In the course of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, to conduct education in ideology and political line among the people of all nationalities is very important in forging national unity. Experience shows that raising the consciousness of the line is a fundamental way to strengthen revolutionary unity. Where the line is clear, the direction is also clear. Through education in the line, the broad masses have clearly distinguished between Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the revisionist line and between our enemies and friends. They know the general direction for struggle. They have the yardstick with which to judge right and wrong. In this way, they can see clearly and discern the plot of a handful of class enemies to disrupt national unity, and they can resist all words and deeds undermining national unity. They can effectively overcome the influence of great-Han chauvinism, regional nationalism and other exploiting-class ideas and consciously uphold national unity. They will not say or do those things which harm national unity. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, in various areas of the country the people of all nationalities have been aroused to compare the new society with the old and the two lines, recall the bitter past in light of the sweet present, and jointly criticize Lin Piao's revisionist line and the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as well as the crimes of imperialism and social-imperialism. From their bitter experiences in the old society and their happy life in the new society and by comparing between two lines and two kinds of results, they have realized that the people of all nationalities "share the some roots of bitterness and the some source of happiness; though they are of different nationalities, they belong to the same class." They have raised their consciousness in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, capable of drawing a clear distinction on all matters affecting class interests and line and capable of taking the whole situation into consideration, showing mutual respect to each other, learning from each other and helping each other. They have effectively strengthened national unity.

"Policy and tactics are the lifeblood of the Party." To strengthen the great unity of the people of various nationalities, it is essential to seriously implement the Party's national policies. In leading the long struggle of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao has formulated for our Party a general line and general policy for various historical periods, while setting various specific lines and policies for work. The series of national policies set by Chairman Mao for our Party are part of the general line and general policy for China's revolutionary struggle; they concretely embody Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on the national question. These guidelines and policies correctly take care of the relations between various nationalities in our country, especially those between Hans and the minorities. They give expression to the common desire of the people of all nationalities for stronger unity, reflect the common interests of the

people of all nationalities, and also take care of the particular features of the minority nationalities and the specific conditions of their regions. Therefore, they have been warmly supported by the people of all nationalities, being effective weapons for the people of all nationalities to unite as one man, triumph over the enemy and achieve progress. Many facts prove that where the Party's national policies are seriously followed, there the national unity will be strengthened, the dictatorship of the proletariat will be consolidated and the development of production will be quickened. The Party committees of many minority nationality areas, while criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, are studying the national policies and summing up their experiences in carrying out the Party's national policies. This deserves to be encouraged.

In the course of thoroughly implementing the Party's national policies, many comrades have had a profound understanding--that we must strictly distinguish between two different types of contradictions and resolutely trust and rely on the great majority. In the old society, the broad masses of laboring people of minority nationalities in China were most heavily oppressed and exploited. They cherish profound proletarian feelings toward Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, and they are unswervingly determined to follow the socialist road. They are a reliable force for carrying out socialist revolution and construction in minority regions. There, as in other areas of the whole country, the overwhelming majority of the masses are good, and bad people are only a small minority. This is a Marxist scientific appraisal. Under all circumstances, we must adhere to the Marxist class analysis and seriously distinguish between two different types of contradictions. We must "work according to the different conditions of different areas inhabited by various nationalities." In areas predominated by minority nationalities, we must take account of the features of the minority nationalities and rely on the cadres and the masses of the minority nationalities to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, Lin Piao's revisionist line, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and capitalist tendencies and to firmly take the socialist road in light of realities. Only in this way can we achieve the aim of uniting with over 95 percent of the people and cadres and isolating and hitting at a small handful of class enemies.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "It is impossible to thoroughly solve the national problems and to completely isolate the national reactionaries without large numbers of communist cadres born of minority nationalities." Where more communist cadres born of minority nationalities are trained and grow fast, there national unity is well forged and the dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated. Especially, we should pay attention to selecting and bringing up communist cadres and developing Party members from among young men and women of minority nationalities. We must promote the fine elements that have emerged in the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and the three major revolutionary movements to leadership posts at various levels. Since liberation, the Party has sent a large number of Han cadres to work in various areas of minority nationalities, and this is an expression of concern Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee show the minority nationalities. They are an important force in strengthening national unity and doing revolutionary work well. Han cadres

must act on the Party's policies, take the initiative to promote unity with minority cadres, ardently help the latter to actively unfold their work according to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and to grow up in the struggle of the three major revolutionary movements. Cadres of various nationalities must "seriously read and study and have a grasp of Marxism," observe in an exemplary manner the "Three Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention," and play a leading role in strengthening national unity. Concerning problems bearing on the line and the general situation, we must, on the principled basis of Mao Tsetung Thought, "unify the understanding, policies, plans, commands and actions." Different views must be seriously investigated and studied, and democracy must be fully promoted. Discussions must be repeatedly held and an active ideological struggle unfolded so as to achieve unity based on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Chairman Mao has said: "All nationalities of the People's Republic of China, unite!" "Unite to win still greater victories." We are deeply convinced that under the present excellent situation at home and abroad and driven by the great movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the revolutionary unity of all nationalities in our country will be further consolidated and developed and our cause of socialist revolution and construction will yield still greater victories.

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Carry Out the Policy of "Learning from Past Mistakes in Order to Avoid Future Ones, Curing the Sickness to Save the Patient"

by

LÜ Chen (呂真)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, Oct. 1, 1974)

"Learning from past mistakes in order to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" is a Marxist principle and policy put forward by Chairman Mao after summing up the historical experience of struggle within our Party. In the course of penetratingly unfolding the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, to conscientiously carry out this policy is of vital significance in further strengthening the revolutionary unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country and in winning still greater victories in socialist revolution and construction.

Our Party has developed and gained in strength in the violent struggle between the two lines. Correctly handling the problems in the struggle between the two lines and uniting more people to work together is an important mark of vigorous growth of our Party. The experience of the two-line struggles within the Party tells us that two different cases exist among people who are guilty of mistakes in line. In one case, there are chieftains of opportunist lines and principal members of anti-Party cliques who made themselves rejected by the Party and the people. They include people like Wang Ming, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao who sneaked into the Party to engage in counter-revolutionary machinations. Extremely few in number, they are adamantly unrepentant. Their contradictions with the Party and the people are the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. In the other case, there are comrades within our ranks who have committed more or less mistakes during the acute, complicated class struggle and two-line struggle. There are a good many such people, but they can or may make amends. Their problems fall into the category of contradictions among the people. We must strictly distinguish between and correctly handle these two kinds of qualitatively different contradictions in accordance with actual conditions. With regard to ringleaders of the opportunist lines who make themselves rejected by the Party and the people, we must resolutely uncover and criticize them; as for the majority of comrades guilty of mistakes, we should use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to help them understand and correct their mistakes. The policy of "learning from past mistakes in order to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" precisely embodies this Marxist principle of adopting different methods in resolving different contradictions.

Several decades of revolutionary practice--from the Yenan rectification campaign during the democratic revolution to the great proletarian cultural revolution during the socialist revolution--have proved repeatedly that "learning from past mistakes in order to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" has been a correct and effective method for resolving contradictions within the Party and among the people, an

important policy adopted by our Party to unite itself and defeat the enemy. In the history of our Party, this issue may be traced back to the time when revolutionary armies and revolutionary base areas were set up in South China under Chairman Mao's leadership in 1927. During the period of the War of Resistance against Japan, after it was summed up and promoted by Chairman Mao, this method was applied by our Party still more consciously. As Chairman Mao pointed out then: "This democratic method of resolving contradictions among the people was epitomized in 1942 in the formula 'unity, criticism, unity.' To elaborate, it means starting from the desire for unity, resolving contradictions through criticism or struggle and arriving at a new unity on a new basis." After the Yenan rectification campaign, this method was further extended to outside the Party as it was applied in handling the relations between the Party and the masses, between the army and the people, between officers and men, and between different sections of the people. This resulted in greater unity within the Party and revolutionary ranks and in the great triumph of the new democratic revolution. From the countrywide liberation all the way up to the great proletarian cultural revolution, in line with Chairman Mao's teachings, we have continued to extend and apply this method among the people as a whole, uniting the whole Party and the people of all nationalities across the country and going on to win new victories in the struggle for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. "Historical experience merits attention." During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we must uphold still better the policy of "learning from past mistakes in order to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient," correctly deal with those comrades who have erred but who are willing to change over, unite with over 95 percent of the cadres and the masses, and consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The formula "unity, criticism, unity" is a scientific method of applying the law of unity of opposites in correcting mistakes, strengthening unity among the people and propelling the revolutionary cause forward. It generalizes the dialectical relationship between unity and struggle. To resolve the contradictions among the people in line with the formula "criticism, unity, criticism," we need to proceed from the desire for unity and resolve the contradictions through criticism or struggle before we can arrive at a new unity on a new basis. The law of unity of opposites is a fundamental law of development of things. Among the people and within the revolutionary ranks, the correct overcoming and rectification of mistakes must also be achieved through criticism or struggle; there is no room for perfunctoriness and compromise. However, while criticizing our comrades guilty of mistakes, we must act like doctors and do our best to turn them into good comrades. If subjectively we lack the desire for unity, ignore the relevant policy in dealing with comrades guilty of mistakes but adopt the method of "executing people summarily," we are bound to make a mess of things and fail to achieve the goal of unity. Only by proceeding from the basic interests of the proletariat and the masses of the people and by acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's formula can we achieve clarity in ideology and unity among comrades. As for those comrades who have erred, we should help them sincerely and seriously, provided they are willing to make amends.

We must prepare the conditions for errant comrades to make self-criticism and give them the chance to correct their mistakes. In working on errant comrades, we must do so patiently, meticulously and fully. We must welcome them and help them lay down their packs, pluck up their spirit and come back to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and continue the revolution. Once they have made some progress and begun to awaken somewhat, we must, proceeding from the viewpoint of unity, continue to help them. In this way, we shall be able to unite with the vast majority to turn against the common foe under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and make a still greater success of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

According to materialist dialectics, external causes are the condition, and internal causes the basis, of change; external causes become operative through internal causes. To practice the policy of "learning from past mistakes in order to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" is important for helping errant comrades to see and correct their mistakes. But, to break with erroneous things, the decisive factor is still one's subjective effort. Comrades who have committed mistakes in the two-line struggle must strictly analyze themselves and conscientiously make self-criticism. They must take the criticism of the masses as the motive force in seeing and correcting mistakes, and must truly and sincerely accept their help. When one has committed a mistake and the masses come forward to expose it, this is essential and good, for only when a mistake is uncovered can it be recognized. If we turn away from a doctor when we are sick and are unwilling to have our mistakes pointed out, how can mistakes be recognized? For this reason, we should welcome the criticisms of the masses and not reject them, let alone retaliating against them. At the same time, we must understand deeply that as far as errant comrades are concerned, seeing the mistakes is only half of the solution, the important other half being correcting them. Chairman Mao points out: "Marxist philosophy holds that the most important problem does not lie in understanding the laws of the objective world and thus being able to explain it, but in applying the knowledge of these laws actively to change the world." This is true not only of changing the objective world but also of changing one's subjective world. In recognizing a mistake, we must make clear its substance, its social, historical and ideological causes, its danger to the revolutionary cause, etc. The aim of clarifying these problems is to help the errant comrades learn their lessons and truly correct their mistakes so that they will work more prudently and better in the future. Practice is the only criterion for testing the correctness or incorrectness of knowledge. To judge whether a comrade has truly recognized his mistakes, we must not just see how he has examined himself, but, what is more important, how he has corrected them. All will be fine when a mistake is corrected. One who recognizes his mistakes and corrects them in practice will hopefully become a good comrade. But if one merely examines his mistakes and does little to correct them, such an attitude would be very harmful to the revolution and to himself, and it would also show that he has not really recognized his mistakes. As for double-dealers like Lin Piao and his sworn partners who made "self-examinations" in public but engaged in conspiracies secretly, this is another question. This is determined by their reactionary

class nature, but it has provided us with memorable experience and lessons.

Chairman Mao points out: "The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind. It is the most powerful revolutionary class ideologically, politically and in strength. It can and must unite with the overwhelming majority of the people and isolate and hit at the handful of enemies to the greatest possible extent." In treating comrades who have committed mistakes, including those who have committed grave ones, we must follow the policy of "learning past mistakes in order to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient," and unite with them to continue the revolution. This will fully testify to the might of our Party ideologically, politically and in strength. By upholding this policy, we can continue to strengthen and develop Party unity on the basis of Marxist principles, unite with everyone that can be united with, and isolate the handful of class enemies to the greatest possible extent. At present, we must continue to implement this policy set by Chairman Mao, make the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country rally more closely around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, carry out the "criticize Lin Piao and Confucius" movement better under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, consolidate and develop the current excellent situation, and win still greater victories in socialist revolution and construction.

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